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## **China Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 167**

**FBIS**

**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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On behalf of all of us in FBIS I wish to express appreciation to our readers who have guided our efforts throughout the years.

3 March 1981

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 167

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## PARTY AND STATE

### IDEOLOGICAL WORK SAID ESSENTIAL FOR MODERNIZATION

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Set Models for Ideological-Political Work"]

[Text] We need not only a large group of professional and technical path-breakers in the economic construction, but also an army of exemplary workers on the ideological front. Whether in realizing the long-range goal of the socialist modernization, or in completing the current strenuous task of readjusting the national economy, neither is dispensable.

Ideological-political work has always been an important political task of our party. In the various revolutionary periods, our party gave attention to activating all its organizations and units of the various levels, all the mass organizations under its leadership and all its comrades to perform ideological-political work and encouraged everyone to serve as a model.

After making the decision to shift the emphasis of work to the socialist modernization construction, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, for the purpose of smoothly completing this historical turn and realizing the magnificent goal of the 4 modernizations, promptly proposed the 4 basic principles, viz., adherence to the socialist path, to the democratic dictatorship, i.e., the proletarian dictatorship, to the party's leadership, and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, pointing out the direction for successfully developing the 4 modernizations and reinforcing the ideological-political work in the new era. In the past 2 years, the education on the 4 basic principles launched in the entire party and entire people and the implementation of the policy to emancipate thinking and seek the truth from the facts have produced a positive effect on purging Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultra-leftwing poison, enlivening people's thinking, stimulating their fervor for the 4 modernizations and consolidating the stable and united situation. The superior tradition of the party's ideological-political work has continued and developed.

However, we must also realize that the phenomenon of overlooking or slackening ideological-political work exists in some branches and units. They are not sufficiently conscientious and intensive in its propaganda and education, and

even fail to step forward bravely and criticize the words and conduct in open violation of the four basic principles, expressing no stand and letting matters drift. Meanwhile, there are also some party members and cadres who are not interested in ideological-political work. The moment an issue is brought up, they discuss with relish other units and branches, but are not conscientious in the ideological work of their own units and branches. Even some political work personnel fail to keep their mind on such work. The situation indicates that, to further reinforce ideological-political work, it is highly necessary, in the various branches and units, inside and outside the party and among the cadres and masses, to create an atmosphere where ideological-political work is considered meritorious and glorious. Like commending pathbreakers in the four modernizations, we must establish models in ideological-political work to encourage everyone to perform the work.

To create such an atmosphere, we must purge the remnant ultra-leftwing poison and influence in ideological-political work and rectify understanding. We must admit that one important reason that some comrades are afraid and unwilling to do ideological-political work and others feel an aversion the moment it is mentioned is Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" destruction of its prestige. In the 10-year calamity, they deceived and attacked people in its name, hoodwinking the people and persecuting the revolutionary cadres and masses. From the contents to the forms and methods, their so-called ideological-political work served their counterrevolutionary political goal. Naturally it encountered the resistance and criticism of the masses. That ideological-political work was turned into falsehoods and lies, and clubs and labels was not the defect of ideological-political work itself, but because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" changed its revolutionary contents and correct methods. Criticizing and purging the remnant ultra-leftwing poison and influence in ideological-political work does not mean abolishing ideological-political itself, but is to restore its revolutionary and scientific essences. Only by recognizing this point and distinguishing the revolutionary and scientific ideological-political work from Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" deceptive and punitive ideological-political work will we be able to actively and correctly launch ideological-political work and regain prestige among the masses with the good results.

To create such an atmosphere, we must fully understand the significance and effect of ideological-political work. In economic construction, undoubtedly we must act according to the objective economic laws and manage the economy with economic means. In the past, we once overlooked this point and exaggerated the spiritual effect, causing many detours in our economic construction. The lesson is extremely profound. The effect of ideological-political work, its spiritual effect, must be neither exaggerated nor underestimated. Underestimation and neglect will also lead to detours, for the following reasons: Economic construction requires a stable and united political environment. If we fail to perform forceful ideological-political work, struggle against all kinds of words and deeds in violation of the four basic principles, overcome the feudal, bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideologies and rectify all kinds of unhealthy trends, it will be difficult to maintain a lasting stable and united political situation. Economic construction requires not only a scientific attitude, but also a revolutionary spirit. If we fail to perform ideological-

political work deep into the hearts of the people, we will not be able to stimulate the national spirit, help the people build their confidence in success and bring forth the heroic bearing of eliminating all difficulties and struggling ardously. Even understanding and mastering the objective economic laws require the struggle spirit of courage and diligence in practice and exploration, without fear of hardship. To readjust and reform the economy and handle the relationships of all kinds of economic interests, we must not only act according to the objective economic laws, but also require people to have a correct attitude when their personal interest is involved. If we fail to perform careful and patient ideological-political work and promote selflessness, placing others before oneself, giving consideration to the overall situation and overcoming departmentalism and extreme egoism, it will be difficult to accomplish the readjustment and reform of the national economy and handle successfully the relationships among the various kinds of economic interests. Therefore, ideological-political work is not dispensable, but absolutely necessary, and must be reinforced. It is not nonessential, but essential, and all branches and all comrades of the entire party must be activated to perform the work. If we both master the objective economic laws and reinforce ideological-political work, then our socialist modernization cause will advance twice as vigorously.

To become models in ideological-political work, the party organizations of all levels, the party cadres and the broad party members must maintain a high degree of unanimity with the Party Central Committee, producing an exemplary effect in implementing the party's lines and policies and observing party discipline and state law. Only by serving as a model will one have the power of persuasion when performing mass work, while being a model is in itself the best propaganda and the best ideological-political work.

If we loudly advocate the implementation of the party's lines and policies while actually banishing them on a high shelf, or even privately spreading comments against them, and if we appeal to others to observe party discipline and state, while privately performing deeds in violation thereof, "such political work inevitably becomes merely an ornament, a joke and a flattery," as said by Comrade Zhou Enlai, and the result can be imagined. Meanwhile, only by maintaining a high degree of political unanimity with the Party Central Committee will we have a keen sight and a sensitive sense of smell, able to distinguish the true from the false and the right from the wrong, instead of letting the erroneous words and conduct drift. The exemplary effect of ideological-political work is the courage to fight and overcome the wrong ideas with the right ideas, thereby attaining ideological unity.

To become models in ideological-political work, we must be not only willing and courageous, but also able and skillful. In other words, besides serving as models, we must also have a scientific work method. We must correctly distinguish the two different kinds of contradictions. We must solemnly criticize and firmly struggle against the reactionary words and conduct contrary to the four basic principles. In regard to solving the ideological issues and the issues of right and wrong within the people, our party has always advocated

the method of dredging and channeling, which consists of reasoning, criticism and self-criticism and patient education. While the criticisms must be based on good grounds, we must show warmth, sincerity and eagerness when criticizing. We must guard against arrogance, simplicity and crudity. Sincerity works wonders and dredging and channeling unblock the mind. Instead of being convincing, pressure will only aggravate the blockage. These points have been proved by innumerable lessons of experience.

Duty-bound to perform ideological-political work, the party organizations of all levels and the broad cadres and party members must vigorously develop their own leading and exemplary effect. This point is extremely important. However, to reinforce ideological-political work, we must also mobilize the strengths of all sides. We must reinforce our contact with the masses, launch vivid and lively ideological-political work among them and truly serve as the party's able aides. Those on the propaganda and cultural fronts must, by means of newspapers, publications and all other propaganda means and forms, conscientiously, systematically and persuasively spread the spirit of the Party Central Committee and the four basic principles in a vivid and lively manner and with a clear-cut stand, and vigorously strive for good results. With the emergence of large numbers of models, the ever more active mass ideological-political work, the further readjustment of the economy and the further stabilization of the political situation, the four modernization construction will develop smoothly.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### TRUE, FALSE FRIENDSHIP DISTINGUISHED

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 12 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Wu Xiaoru [0702 1420 1172]: "The Friendship between Gentlemen Is Light as Water"]

[Text] There is a famous ancient saying in China: "The friendship between gentlemen is light as water." It is found in the "Book of Rites." The original text is: "Therefore, the association of gentlemen is like water; the association of base men is like the sweet wine. A gentleman succeeds for the lightness; a base man fails for the sweetness." According to the annotation of Zheng Xuan of the East Han Dynasty, "association" reads "friendship" in another edition. Actually, "friendship" and "association" have the same meaning, indicating the intercourse and contact between friends. "Li" [6833] was a sweet wine. Sun Xidan of the Qing Dynasty explained the above passage as follows:

".... A gentleman conducts himself by taking action, not by polishing his words (not devoting his effort to embellishing his words). Therefore, he does not utter insubstantial words to please others. A gentleman is sincere toward others (associating with others with sincerity in his heart). If he fails to please at the time, he does not disappoint afterward either. His friendship is light as water and lasting. A base man uses words to please. While he may give pleasure at the time, there may be complaints later on. His friendship is like the sweet wine which will fail." ("Annotations of the 'Book of Rites,' Vol 51).

In Today's words, a gentleman makes friends in morality and justice and refrains from superficial fervor and sweet words. His friendship seems prosaic and insipid, just like water, but in the end, he does not disappoint or do any disservice to others. Meanwhile, a base man uses sweet words and flattering phrases, like giving others sweet wine to drink, but in the end, he may betray others and make them suffer a disadvantage. Therefore, "a gentleman succeeds for the lightness; a base man fails for the sweetness." To succeed means to accomplish something; to fail means to spoil something. The two are opposite to each other.

To illustrate with "water" and "sweet wine" is very meaningful. "Water" is colorless and tasteless, clear and light, just like a person who is simple and pure, without any exaggeration and ornamentation. However, at no time in our daily life is water dispensable. Thus, it does not depend on color or fragrance to tempt and flatter people, yet people consider it something valuable and can never do without it. The "sweet wine" is not so. It tastes sweet, and one becomes easily addicted to it. Too much may bring misfortune and calamity, and damage one's health. It is just like certain "base men" in society who seek their own private benefit by pleasing others.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### WORKSTYLES THAT ENDANGER PARTY, STATE ANALYZED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 13 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by De Kang [1795 1660]: "Line Policy and Party Workstyle Are Mutually Dependent"]

[Text] The problem concerning the workstyle of the party is an important matter of principle. The workstyle, line and policy of the party are mutually dependent. Some comrades who do not understand this well often view workstyle as an insignificant matter; it seems to them that bad workstyle has nothing to do with the line and policy. This is entirely wrong.

There is a series of guiding principles governing the party's political life and a series of fine traditions and workstyles formulated by our party during the protracted revolutionary struggle. Among them are seeking truth from facts, the mass line, democratic centralism, being modest and prudent, hard struggle, and wholehearted devotion to serving the people. In a nutshell, they can be summarized into three well-known great workstyles, namely, the styles of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses, criticism and self-criticism. Practice proves that these three great workstyles of the party have played an extremely significant role in the triumphant implementation of our party's political line.

#### A Review of Historical Experience

As seen from the history of our party which spans several decades, four instances of relationship between the party's line and policies on the one hand and our inner-party life and the workstyle of the party on the other can be cited as follows:

Instance 1: When the party committed big mistakes on the line and policies, the inner-party life became abnormal, thus inducing party leaders to exercise feudal patriarchal dictatorship and making the revolution suffer serious setbacks. But if at that time, the broad masses of cadres and party members could have upheld the party's fine workstyles, struggling heroically and advancing wave upon wave, the party still could have won the support of the people, thus saving the revolution from total defeat. This was the general picture of our party from 1927, in which the great revolution failed, to 1935, when the Zunyi meeting was held.



Instance 2: Although the party's line and policies were correct, and the inner-party life was normal, the workstyle still could fall behind the demands of the line and policies because our party's workstyles and its relations with the masses still needed improvement. For example, this was true in the period following 1940. Later, the Party Central Committee was determined to carry out a sweeping Yanan rectification campaign, thus enabling the entire party to improve its way of thinking, rectify its workstyles and create a condition for winning the war of resistance against Japan and the war for national liberation.

Instance 3: From the Yanan rectification campaign through the early days of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the party's line and policies were entirely correct, the inner-party life was normal, and democratic centralism was basically realized. As a result, the party's good workstyles prevailed, the entire party was united and full of vitality, its prestige among the people was very high, and our party and revolutionary cause took a giant step forward.

Instance 4: During the 10-year Great Cultural Revolution, the line and policies were entirely wrong; the inner-party life was extremely abnormal; the party's fine tradition was trampled under foot in a way that had never occurred before; the unhealthy wind prevailed everywhere; the party's prestige plummeted drastically; there were tensions between the party and the masses. Consequently, the national economy was on the verge of bankruptcy and voices of discontent were heard everywhere.

As a result of a brief analysis of these four instances, we can draw this experience from history: As a political party, it must have not only a correct line but also a fine workstyle, because the party's line, principles and policies need to be implemented by the masses under the leadership of party cadres and party members. If our party cadres and party members, especially the party's leading cadres, practice unhealthy workstyles, if they cannot behave themselves well, and if they cannot act as models and vanguards in a true sense, they will stand to lose the trust of the masses, and those who follow the party wholeheartedly will become fewer and fewer. This is why, as I say, the party's line, principles, policies and workstyles are mutually dependent.

#### The Crux of the Problem Is Mass Viewpoint

Basically speaking, the problem concerning the party's workstyle is a problem concerning the relationship between the party and the masses. Our party is the vanguard of the proletariat. It must always maintain close ties with the working class and the broad masses of people, always represent the people's long-range interests as a whole, and devote themselves wholeheartedly to realizing the people's fundamental interests. As a ruling proletarian political party, it must constantly and vigilantly prevent itself from becoming degenerated. Lenin once said: "To the vanguard of the working class leading the great nation along the path to socialism, the greatest and gravest danger is aloofness from the masses." This is true. In the past or during the years of the revolutionary war, we were in a position of the oppressed, which forced us to make the revolution. After winning victory, today we are apt to be carried away by what we have already achieved; we may cease to make progress and weaken our revolutionary fighting will. In the past, if we failed to identify ourselves with

the masses and failed to win their support, we could neither defeat the enemy nor maintain our footholds and stand any chance of survival. Today, after becoming "officials," and being given the titles of "leading members," we are easily inclined to dictate orders to others. In the past, our revolutionary forces were relatively weak for a considerably long time. This being the case, only by persistently following a scientific approach to seek truth from facts could we possibly gain strength through struggle and annihilate the enemy. Today when our revolutionary forces grow unprecedentedly strong and our working conditions become exceedingly favorable, we may aptly treat and handle problems subjectively. Was it true that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" definitely took advantage of some of these conditions to undermine our party in an unprecedented way? Before capturing the political power, our party's political responsibility was to organize the masses into revolutionary forces in order to overthrow the rule of the oppressors and win the rights for the people to become the masters of their own country. After winning the political power, the party must further organize the people into politically conscious forces and make them true masters and managers of their country and society. To accomplish this political task, the party must formulate a correct line and policy. But a correct line and policy alone are far from sufficient. The party must also have a good workstyle. Only by combining them can we run the party well. Our party's line means the people's line and mass line. The purpose and ultimate aim of our policy are to serve and defend the people's highest interests. Fundamentally, our party's workstyle is one of reliance on and maintaining ties with the masses. Therefore, essentially, the party's line, policy and workstyle are identical in their entirety. The crux of the problem is mass viewpoint. A fine workstyle of the party is required not only to implement the line but also to formulate a correct line and policy. Also required in this connection is coordination between the party and the masses. Since nationwide liberation, our party has made many mistakes which resulted in escalating the class struggle. It also has committed a "left" mistake in the spheres of economic construction and socialist transformation. We can tie such mistakes to the failure of the party's individual leaders to keep in close touch with the masses. True, a program is a banner openly fostered by a political party. But the broad masses have gradually come to know our party and have spontaneously accepted its leadership since bringing themselves into contact with those of its members who have acted as models in being the first to charge and storm the enemy positions and to bear the brunt of hardships, and who have displayed the fine workstyle of showing concern and love for the masses. In that sense, a practical action is worth more than a dozen political programs. In the past, our party members joined the masses in charging and storming the enemy positions in battlefields; in the base areas, they farmed and spun fibers into thread or yarn together during the spring season; in the enemy-occupied areas, they made the revolution together "in defiance of any danger to their lives," treated each other like brothers, and were as intimate as flesh to blood. The people have come to realize that our party serves their interests, regarding it as the most trustworthy vanguard in helping them shake off their shackles and liberate themselves. Through contact with our party, they saw the truth and light. This is why they have supported us wholeheartedly. We should never forget this tradition. Nor should we forget the people.

## Overcome Unhealthy Workstyle, Implement the Party's Line

During the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and subsequent two meetings, the Party Central Committee set forth the correct ideological, political and organizational lines, thus creating a very favorable condition for our party to mobilize and unite all forces, to coordinate and draw up a united plan for all efforts, and to build China, with one heart and one mind, into a modern socialist country with high levels of democracy and civilization. But an assessment of current realities indicates that much remains to be done to steadily boost the economy, and the task of stability and unity still faces many problems. Why? Apart from the objective existence of the remnant influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and other hostile elements and the subjective factors of incorrect ideological line and left ideas which remain to be eliminated, the unhealthy workstyle of the party is another important factor.

At present, in certain localities, this unhealthy workstyle has seriously hampered the implementation of the party's line and policies. Some people have adopted a double-dealing attitude of complying in public and opposing in private toward the Party Central Committee's line, principles and policies; some have used the power delegated by the party and people to serve their private interests, to forge cliques and to appoint their faithful followers to important posts; some have given up principle to pursue "studies in relationship," and even to seek kick-backs and accept bribes, thus undermining the party's reputation; some have refused to acknowledge mistakes they committed and have used their authority to frame false charges and launch vengeful attacks against the innocent; some have deceived others by ganging up in making fanfares, in cheating those at the top and hoodwinking those at the bottom, in stealing honors away from others and in making gains through speculation. There are still others who have no sense of responsibility for work, thus seriously damaging the interests of the country and people. In the final analysis, such bad workstyles have been practiced in gross disregard of the party's and people's interests. Waters that carry a boat can also capsize it. If divorced from the people, a proletarian political party will face the danger of being abandoned by them. Comrade Chen Yun said recently: "The problem concerning the workstyle of our ruling party is a matter which may spell the life or death and survival or demise of our party." We must climb higher, think more deeply and become more farsighted than ever. Only in this way can we display courage and determination to solve the problem concerning the workstyle of the party.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPLEMENTATION OF 'GUIDING PRINCIPLES' STRESSED

#### Initiative of Leading Groups

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Dec 80 p 1

[Report: "Provincial Party Committee Transmits Report by Its Discipline Inspection Commission and Demands Party Committees at Various Levels To Strengthen Leadership in Earnest--Leading Groups at Various Levels Must Take Initiative in Carrying Out "Guiding Principles"]

[Text] Recently, the provincial party committee transmitted the "Report on the Situation of Study and Carrying Out of 'Guiding Principles' by Leading Groups of Various Departments at the Provincial Level and Views Pertaining to Forthcoming Efforts" made by its Discipline Inspection Commission, and demanded that party committees at various levels, especially leading groups at levels above the county, must strengthen their organizational leadership and take the initiative in doing a good job on the study and carrying out of "Guiding Principles," and gather together to study once or twice more this winter and next spring in order to solve salient problems facing the leading groups by shooting their arrows at specific targets and thereby setting relevant examples.

Since July, the Discipline Inspection Commission of the provincial party committee has conducted a general inspection of the situation of leading groups of various departments at the provincial level in the study and carrying out of "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life." Most organs at the provincial level paid relative attention to such study and carrying out by the leading groups themselves. More than 70 percent of these units have especially convened party group (party committee) meetings or enlarged meetings to proceed with their serious study. Part of the party groups (party committees) have also formulated concrete measures for thorough execution, in conjunction with actualities, of leading groups of their own units. But those who have really studied well and who are able to take their actualities into consideration, check and examine their practice against the "Guiding Principles," consciously work toward such thorough execution, and who have therefore achieved conspicuous results are in the minority. The study of the majority has become a matter of routine, and a small number of units have done very poor study or have done no study at all. The main existing problems are as follows:



(1) There has been insufficient understanding of, and inadequate attention paid to, the great significance of leading groups taking the initiative in the study and carrying out of "Guiding Principles." Some have put study and work in opposition to each other, invoked the pretext that their work was busy and their tasks were heavy, and hence simply failed to do a good job in organizing the study.

(2) In the course of the study, there have been more vague discussions and general platitudes than actual considerations relating to the work, thinking, and style of the leading groups and individuals themselves.

(3) The launching of criticism and self-criticism has been generally poor, and the criticism of the No 1 and No 2 in command on the party group (party committee), in particular, could hardly be launched at all.

In order to solve such problems facing the leading groups in a practical way, the Discipline Inspection Commission of the provincial party committee made the following suggestions in its report as to how the study and carrying out of "Guiding Principles" on the part of leading groups of various departments at the provincial level should be guided in the further deepening direction:

1. Continue to improve understanding of the great significance of "Guiding Principles" in order to assure the taking of the initiative in doing a good job in the study according to the requirements of the Central Committee and provincial party committee. Party groups (party committees) of various departments at the provincial level must honestly place the study and carrying out of "Guiding Principles" on their agenda and continue to grasp them well. From now on, until the end of March next year, they must arrange definite dates to sit down collectively and carry out serious study several times. They must have each level grasp its own work and at the same time guide the next level in the same effort in order to promote a step forward the study and carrying out of "Guiding Principles."

2. Keep close to actualities and solve the main existing problems among the leading groups in a practical way. The various party groups (party committees) must make clear the main existing problems in conjunction with their own actualities, placing emphasis particularly on solving the main problems affecting their current work and their relationship with the masses. Apart from continuing to grasp well the thorough execution of the party's line, principles, policies, and its system of democratic centralism and system of collective leadership and division of labor and responsibility, a salient effort should be generally made to grasp the following three key points: One is to overcome individualism and strive earnestly to handle well the unity of "the whole group"; the next is to adhere to our party character and oppose factionalism of any form; and the third is to seriously rectify all devious working styles and closely guide relations with the masses. Every party group (party committee) member must do a good job in checking his own behavior against "Guiding Principles" and seriously sum up his pertinent experience and lessons.

3. Speed up acts of implementation and achieve even greater results. Every party group (party committee) member must take the initiative in the study and carrying out of "Guiding Principles." He himself must first of all achieve whatever

"Guiding Principles" require him to achieve, take the initiative in beginning with himself, beginning now, and beginning with every concrete matter, and thereby set good examples for the masses. On the situation of thoroughly carrying out the directives and regulations issued by the Central Committee and the provincial party committee concerning the living expenses and salaries of high-ranking cadres and division and bureau cadres, rectification of "transfers from agricultural to non-agricultural status" in violation of established policies, non-permission of interference in student recruitment and assignment at universities and colleges, prohibition of "tentative use" being taken as a pretext in the encroachment upon state products, and directives and regulations issued by the Central Committee and the State Council concerning the rooting out of devious practices in entertainment work and the prohibition of acceptance of gifts in external activities, etc., each party group (party committee) must conduct an inspection. Whoever has not handled matters as required must be earnestly rectified with a firm attitude.

4. Strengthen concrete organizational work to further grasp well the study and carrying out of "Guiding Principles." While the Discipline Inspection Commission of the provincial party committee is required to help the provincial party committee to strengthen supervision and insure thorough execution of "Guiding Principles," the various departmental party committees of the provincial party committee and major agencies of the provincial government must also grasp this work. They must strengthen educational work on party members, grasp typical cases, exalt the advanced, solemnly punish behavior in violation of discipline, and thereby help achieve even greater results in the study and carrying out of "Guiding Principles."

The provincial party committee is of the opinion that the views expressed in the report are also applicable to the various districts and localities, and hence requests party committees at the various levels to seriously study them and carry them out.

#### Improvement of Party Style

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Dec 80 p 1

[Commentary by special staff commentator: "Continue To Implement 'Guiding Principles,' Firmly Improve Party Style"]

[Text] Since the promulgation of "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," party organizations at various levels in our province have in accordance with arrangements made by the Central Committee and the provincial party committee grasped the study and carrying out of "Guiding Principles" as a great matter relating to the strengthening and improvement of the party leadership; under the common efforts of party committees and discipline inspection commissions at various levels and vast ranks of party members and the masses, our party style has experienced a fairly big improvement. This is something in which we can rejoice.

But, we should also see that, when compared to the early post-liberation period, our party style has hardly fundamentally changed for the better and it is still a distance away from what the masses require. There exist still some problems in the implementation of "Guiding Principles" and rectification of our party style.

For instance, party committees of some localities and units have not paid serious enough attention to carrying out "Guiding Principles"; some leading cadres, under the pretext of "protecting the enthusiasm of the cadres" and "stability and unity," are inclined to condone and accommodate persons of devious work style and persons who have made mistakes, to make excuses and pleas for them, or even to have the informants "put on narrow shoes" in belaboring and avenging their acts of revelation; some party members, especially party-member leading cadres, are enthusiastic about carrying out "Guiding Principles" in words but leave much to be desired in their deeds, or they violate them even while they study them; some are afraid of offending people and hence resort to protecting each other as fellow officials in the leading groups, thus simply abandoning criticism and struggle; etc., etc. If these problems are not seriously solved, "Guiding Principles" will lose their authoritative character in certain places and units, and improving our party style is liable to become simply empty talk.

Recently, during the period when the Central Discipline Inspection Commission convened the Third "Guiding Principles" Implementation Forum, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The question of party style for the party in power is a question of life and death to that party. Therefore, we must closely work on the question of party style and forever work on it." This is a question of fundamental principle to which the whole party must pay attention. A party in power must not only have correct line, policies, but should also have correct organizational line and good work style. The party's line and policies and normal inner-party life and good party style are desperately interdependent; it is erroneous and harmful to overlook construction of the party's work style. Hence, the view and approach of looking upon the implementation of "Guiding Principles" and improvement of our party style as things we can take or leave, or even putting the improvement of our party style and economic work in opposition to stability and unity definitely cannot stand the test. We may suppose that a certain enterprise has created a great deal of wealth for the state at great exertion, but a certain department at the superior level or certain leaders of the enterprise happened to follow a devious work style by resorting to some subjectivism or some bureaucracy; then such wealth is liable to become completely wasted. Under such circumstances, what real results can we have from our economic work? Some localities, units or leaders attempt to make private profits, seek privileges, and resort to extravagance, and hence provoke resentment on the part of the masses: can they handle stability and unity well this way? As for the practice of condoning and accommodating persons in violation of "Guiding Principles" under the pretext of protecting the cadres' enthusiasm and "protecting each other as fellow officials" for fear of affecting stability and unity, it can only lead to the ill consequences of damaging the party's prestige and credibility and causing it to gravely deviate from the masses; it is by no means indicative of an attitude of really looking after the party. Historical experience, the status of a party in power, and realistic situations all require that our whole party, especially its leading cadres, must seriously consider the party style question.

How should we rectify our party style? First of all, we must earnestly and practically carry out education on our party character, party discipline, and party laws within the whole party. The old China was a backward, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society; what it bequeathed to us included the feudal ideology,



the bourgeois ideology, the petty bourgeois ideology, and also old forces of habit ill-fitted to historical development, and all of these are not something we can hope to solve in a short period of time or after grasping it once or twice. Therefore, at no time can we forget or relax ideological education. At present, we must continue to launch the study of our new Party Constitution (Draft) and "Guiding Principles," keep close to actualities, check our practice against what is prescribed, so as to strengthen the consciousness of each party member in resisting a devious work style. The discipline inspection departments should coordinate closely with concerned departments, study together, and do a good job in carrying out ideological education on the rectification of our party style in a penetrating and sustained way. We must mobilize all above and below in the party, activate the vast ranks of the masses of the people, unite internal and external supervision of the party together, make common efforts, and improve our party style.

Next, we must keep close to actualities of our own localities, our own departments and our own units, put audacity ahead of everything else, and carry out a resolute struggle against the existing devious style of today. Because of the fact that this devious style inside the party has its complex historical and social root causes and is also a matter of long standing, its rectification is inevitably going to touch sensitive spots of certain people and encounter obstacles from all sides. Hence, to rectify the devious style inside the party, on the one hand, requires courage and a daring strategy; in the face of great measures of right and wrong, our banners must be clearly unfurled without calculating personal gain or loss; we must not feel timid before obstacles, nor shrink before difficulties; we must not be afraid of offending people or losing our office; we must not be afraid of "wearing narrow shoes," nor of attacks and revenge; and we must, in this manner, carry out resolute struggles against those devious work styles of which the masses are most critical and those which are most harmful to the four modernizations. On the other hand, we must also be good at carrying out struggles, pay attention to policies, study tactics and methods, and unify the motives and effects of our struggles. When we are handling cases, we should maintain a prudent attitude; we must clarify problems, verify data by seeking truth from facts, meet the principal parties, exhibit the facts, follow a reasoning process, launch criticism and self-criticism, and dispose of them properly according to policies and laws of the party and state.

Thirdly, the key to carrying out "Guiding Principles" and improving our party style lies in leading cadres at various levels being strict in applying discipline to themselves, setting themselves upon as norms, and showing others the examples. Practice proves that in whatever localities, departments, or units where leading cadres, especially members of the party committee, can set themselves up as norms and exhibit exemplary behaviors, relations between the party and the masses are usually better, and devious work styles, even if they have emerged, are also susceptible to easier correction. To ask the leaders to take the initiative is not some harsh demand, but because the influence of the words and deeds of a leading cadre is usually very great in the locality, department or unit under his jurisdiction; at the same time, since he wields a definite power, if he should take advantage of his office and resort to particularization, then we can simply not speak of him in connection with any resistance or rectification as regards devious work styles in his locality, department or unit. Leading cadres at various levels



of our party are all public servants of the people and leaders guiding the masses in the construction of the four modernizations, and not official lords enjoying their remunerations sitting down, much less rulers sitting on the heads of the people. In this sense, whether or not one takes the initiative in rectifying devious work styles and adheres to "Guiding Principles" in his operations is in essence an indicator as to whether or not a cadre, especially a leading cadre, wishes to serve as a public servant of the people or as an official lord. Leading cadres at various levels should all seriously ponder this question and carefully measure themselves; if they become thus a good public servant of the people and value the people's interests above everything else in their conduct, they will automatically receive the support of the people.

At present, our political and economic situation is getting better step by step. The three trends of uniting together to work on the four modernizations, perfecting socialist democracy and the legal system, and giving full scope to the party's fine traditions have converged to form the general trend of building a powerful socialist China. This is the people's will and the people's desire; nobody can stand in its way. We must perceive this situation clearly and recognize this trend clearly, refrain from feeling pessimistic and refrain from doing nothing. Comrades who have made mistakes should also not harbor any thoughts of chancy luck, much less turn themselves into stumbling blocks in the forward path of history. Members of the Communist Party should stand in front of historical trends, demonstrate the role of the vanguards and take actual action to make a contribution to the implementation of "Guiding Principles" and improvement of our party style.

#### Giving Up Privileges

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Dec 80 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Carry Out 'Guiding Principles,' Give Up Privileges"]

[Text] "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" clearly prescribes: "Use of public funds to build private residences for leaders in violation of established regulations is prohibited." Recently, this newspaper publicly criticized Lu Gen [0712 2704], deputy secretary of the Shunde County Party Committee, for building his particularized residence—"The Lu Mansion" in violation of established regulations, and thereafter also reported his moving out of this "Mansion"; it publicly criticized certain leading cadres at the anchors and chains plant in Fushan Municipality for building the "Plant Director's Tower" in violation of established regulations, and thereafter also reported that residents of the "Plant Director's Tower" had already moved out. Today, this newspaper once more criticizes Song Shusheng [1345 2885 5116], former secretary of the Sihui County Party Committee (transferred to work at the united front department of Shaoqing Regional Party Committee not long ago) for his mistake in building his particularized residence—"The Song Family's Tower." In doing so, we propose to arouse the attention of leading organs at various levels of the party and government and vast ranks of the cadres so that they would consciously maintain "Guiding Principles," resolutely rectify the practices of particularization on the part of certain leading cadres in making their residences an exception and other aspects of

conduct, and at the same time make the vast ranks of the masses understand that our party firmly struggles against devious practices so that they would consciously support this struggle.

From the vicissitudes of the building of "The Song Family's Tower," we can see that Comrade Song Shusheng's consciousness in rectifying devious practices is rather low. It was after the promulgation of "Guiding Principles" that he used public funds to build "The Song Family's Tower" which was built according to high construction standards and which seriously deviated from the masses. The way he was forced to move out of "The Song Family's Tower" was also characterized by a half-genuine and half-sham motive. He seemed to think that one day, after the storm passes, he could very well move back again. It looks as though, in his mind, he can take or leave "Guiding Principles." Such thinking and practice on his part are deadly wrong.

The "Guiding Principles" is a solemn historic document passed by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Its 12 articles of provisions constitute the program with which our party turns disorder into order, gives full scope to the fine party tradition and work style, and rectifies devious practices; we must resolutely carry it out. If one should behave like Song Shusheng in violating "Guiding Principles" at random, he inevitably is going to make mistakes. Although there is not a great number of leading cadres avariciously pursuing privileges as he does, his conduct merits our deep reflection. We should think carefully about the question of why in the ranks of our party at present there should exist so seriously this privilege-seeking and other devious practices.

Our party is the vanguard of the proletariat. The overwhelming majority of our party members are good and relatively good. During the period of the revolutionary wars and during the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, our party always had hundreds and thousands of members fighting heroically and advancing wave upon wave in their struggle to secure the interests of the people. Even during the period of the 10-year catastrophe, there was also a large contingent of fine party members carrying out resolute struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and an overwhelming majority of party members stood the test of this national disaster. This was the main current. But our party also suffered great devastation; compared to the days prior to the Cultural Revolution, the dust on not a few party members' ideology has thickened, the party's organic body has become contaminated by the bourgeois ideological dust and by the remnant feudal dust. Public report on such a salient type of devious work style as that of Song Shusheng should serve to attract the attention of the whole party and help us look at existing problems with a thoroughly materialistic attitude, make up our minds, and thereby turn disorder into order.

We must resolutely rectify devious practices such as particularization according to the requirements of "Guiding Principles." This is an unshakable principle. Of course, it is necessary to provide leaders with reasonable conditions of convenience according to the system prescribed by the state and from the standpoint of their needs in work; we have never advocated absolute egalitarianism. But, if one thinks that his own power is not subject to any limitations and that he can therefore resort to unlimited particularization, that would be the thinking pertaining to feudal privileges, and it is in fundamental opposition to the views of

Marxism that the people are the masters of the state and that cadres of the party and the state are public servants of the people. Devious practices on the part of leading cadres such as making an exception of their own residences, seeking special enjoyment for their own family members, using public funds to entertain guests and present gifts and other myriad ways of seeking privileges are absolutely impermissible. Not to criticize and rectify such devious practices of seeking privileges and allowing them to spread would risk the danger of letting certain leading cadres evolve into feudal bureaucrats, would seriously damage the party's prestige and credibility, and would seriously sabotage the relationship between the party and the masses. In a unit led by cadres such as these, it would be very difficult to give scope to socialist democracy, very difficult to shape a political situation of liveliness and vitality, and the enthusiasm of cadres and the masses in working on the four modernizations would very likely be suppressed.

In order to resolutely rectify the tendency to seek particularization and other diverse devious practices, we must give full play to inner-party democracy, develop criticism and self-criticism, and give full play to the role of the party organization as a war castle. Why could "The Song Family's Tower" in Sihui County and "The Lu Mansion" in Shunde County be built? It looks as though this has a great deal to do with the fact that the standing committees of the party committees of these two counties failed to give full play to their role as war castles. Members of the standing committees of the party committees of these two counties personally witnessed the building of "The Song Family's Tower" and "The Lu Mansion" in violation of existing regulations. Members of these standing committees likewise personally heard the private murmurs and widespread complaints about such devious practices of particularization by cadres and the masses. If the standing committees of these county party committees had dared to institute internal criticism and self-criticism, such devious practices could have been entirely stopped.

Worthy of our particular attention is the fact that the Shaoqing Regional Party Committee sought to criticize Song Shusheng's building of "The Song Family's Tower" from the very beginning, and clearly directed that he was not permitted to move in. This situation could not have been entirely unknown to the Sihui County Party Committee. Yet Song Shusheng still moved into "The Song Family's Tower." The Fushan Regional Party Committee likewise solemnly criticized Comrade Lu Gen for building "The Lu Mansion" and required him to move quickly from the "Mansion"; the Shunde County Party Committee clearly knew this situation; yet Lu Gen was tardy in moving out. What needs to be pointed out here is that, in the case of the Shunde County Party Committee, because it overlooked criticism and self-criticism within the party, so that the error of Lu Gen's building of "The Lu Mansion" was not only not rectified but became even a "big banner" in some people's minds, and it was hence busily imitated. A vicious practice of building particularized residences thus emerged in the whole county. Was this not an astonishing lesson?

In order to resolutely and effectively rectify such devious practices, it is our hope that party committees at various levels throughout the province will absorb the lessons of the Shunde and Sihui county party committees, follow the requirement of "Guiding Principles," and perfect their inner-party democratic life. If, when

members of the party committees, including secretaries and deputy secretaries, make mistakes, they would refrain from adopting the liberalist attitude that a wise man protects himself and hence refrain from stopping themselves, refrain from debating with themselves, refrain from struggling against themselves and avoiding themselves and shirking their mutual responsibilities but, instead, dare to proceed from caring about themselves and carry out necessary criticism against themselves, are not afraid of offending people when necessary, are not afraid of tearing each other's faces asunder, and carry out struggles against such erroneous tendencies: then whatever devious practices would have been rectified.

Carrying out "Guiding Principles" and refraining from seeking privileges are what every locality must resolutely achieve. It is our hope that, in response to the existing salient problems in this regard, party organizations at various places would take up the weapons of criticism and self-criticism and resolutely solve them. This would have an important effect on improving our party style.

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CSO: 4005



## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPORTANCE OF PRESS FREEDOM EMPHASIZED

Beijing DUSHU [READING] in Chinese Vol 1, 1981 pp 26-29

[Article by Yu Haocheng [0060 3185 2052]: "Achieving Freedom of the Press Is an Important Problem"]

[Text] Freedom of the press is also freedom of expression; if a newspaper is also listed as one of the publications, then it also includes freedom of information. Freedom of expression, authorship, information and the press actually all suggest the same thing, that is, the people's free right to speak up, to express their opinions and standpoints, and especially to publicly express their political views.

Democracy is not just a question of allowing people to speak up; some comrades have already written articles to interpret this. Not a few people take as democracy a liberal ruler's "acceptance of dissident opinion by his subjects," allowing his subjects to speak up without fear, or even "procurement of criticisms at a high price": this is a great misunderstanding. The history of our feudal society has been a very long one; the feudalist tradition and influence left in society and in people's minds may be said to be both profound and extensive. Many people can never depart from the old feudalist conventions when they think of problems and look at problems; they always place their hope in sagacious rulers, virtuous prime ministers, honest officials and good officials and fail to realize that they themselves are masters of the state. There are also not a few leading cadres who regularly regard themselves as senior officials, and who hence regard their giving others permission to speak up as a gracious conferment and their prohibition of others to speak up as an authority, so that they can grant it or they can withhold it, they can be lenient or strict at times and hence act with perfect flexibility and discretion. Such a work style can of course not be designated as democratic, as it falls very short of really letting the people act as masters and exercise their own freedoms and rights. Honestly speaking, not a few of our propositions are still stamped with the imprint and the smell of feudalism; they can hardly stand careful scrutiny. For instance, the phrase "give full play to democracy" is of course very fine; but what if we ask full play by whom? the party? the government? leading cadres? Since the original idea of democracy is the people acting as masters, there does not seem to be any question of giving or not giving full play to democracy insofar as the people themselves are concerned, this entertaining phrase therefore also partakes the nuance of "looking down from a haughty stance." There may be some other such similar expressions, but people are used to them and hence carry them forward in usage without reflection.

Democracy is not limited to the question of allowing people to speak up; but whether or not the people can freely express their opinions is, after all, an important content of, and premise for carrying out, democracy. Therefore, realizing freedom of expression and freedom of the press cannot but be an important work for us to do; it is an important content of our reform of the press. In the three "Constitutions" passed by our National People's Congress in its 1954, 1957 and 1978 sessions, there are invariably articles which prescribe how citizens enjoy freedom of expression and freedom of the press. In the 1954 "Constitution," it was even prescribed in this article: "By providing the necessary material facilities, the state guarantees to citizens enjoyment of these freedoms." But realistic life indicated that these prescriptions were merely things on paper and not actualities. The three great political movements of 1955, 1957 and 1959 were in reality all movements "with people's mouths shut." The situation in the period of the 10-year turmoil was even worse, as under the feudal, fascist dictatorship of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi and their ilk, literary litigations spread throughout the country, and the degree and extent to which they involved and implicated people and the harsh and minute manner in which alleged criminal evidence was fabricated generally exceeded those of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. How many masterful article writers like Deng To and Wu Han, and how many heroic sons and daughters who dared to speak the truth like Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] and Yu Loke [6657 5012 0344] have died miserably under the sword of the executioner! Today, we have smashed the "gang of four" who brought disaster to the state and the people; since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, in particular, we have further put forward the principle of strengthening our socialist democracy and perfecting our socialist legal system; the situation is now very different. But obstacles in the way of our attempt to develop socialist democracy, to establish a well rounded democratic system, to institutionalize and legalize democracy remain far from insignificant; these are by no means things which we can hope to achieve with spectacular results overnight. For instance, in spite of the Party Central Committee's repeated declarations that party and government leaders at various levels must not arbitrarily interfere in literary and artistic work, incidents of such arbitrary, persistent interference somehow have continued to take place without interruption. In the article entitled "If Controlled Too Concretely, Literature and Art Are Hopeless" that he published before his death, people's artist Comrade Zhao Dan [6392 0030] raised a hue and cry: "Literature and art are not subject to control, nor can they be effectively controlled." "In the ancient past and at present, there has never been a single fine work of vitality which was produced by way of censorship!" This cannot be entirely baseless. Why did certain scenes have to be deleted before "The Stars Are Shining Brightly Tonight" could be issued? Why, even after HEBEI WENXUE [HEBEI LITERATURE] was printed, was it still forced to withdraw the short novel "First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee"? All of these prove that the freedom of the press we enjoy is still limited and insufficient.

Now the reform of the publication system has already been put on our agenda; the question everybody has always talked about as to how publishing, printing, and issuing tend to hamper one another, contradict one another in numerous ways, and, under such circumstances, therefore augur ill for the publishing enterprises as a whole urgently awaits reform, of course, but even more fundamental is still the question of how to realize institutionally, and how to protect legally, the

people's freedom of the press as prescribed by the Constitution. The advocacy concerning freedom of expression and freedom of the press was imposed with the label of anti-party and anti-socialism in the anti-rightist struggle of 1957 and hence was subject to criticism. Over all these years, publishing houses have always been run by government organs, and there was often only one such house in each province. But practice of more than 20 years illustrates that socialist publishing enterprises are not necessarily destined to operate this way. Complete monopoly over publishing enterprises by the state is not necessarily the best form for socialist publishing enterprises, much less the only form. Since our economic enterprises are differentiated into those under ownership of the whole people, those under collective ownership, and those under individual ownership, why must cultural and publishing enterprises be under a single type of ownership? Why must newspaper offices and publishing houses be run only by party committees and government organs, must be subordinated to a certain party committee or a certain government organ, and cannot be managed independently under the condition of compliance with pertinent laws and edicts? Facts prove that everything being subject to state monopoly, excessively rigid requirement of conformity, over-strict control, and lack of competition are our main liabilities today, as they neither help realize fully the people's freedom of expression and freedom of the press, nor are beneficial to the development and prosperity of the publishing enterprises. Some deputies of the National People's Congress have pointed out: when publishing houses and printing plants all operate under the condition of monopoly in the business everywhere today, even in the case of very valuable works and products, so long as the censors refuse to pass the drafts, the publishing houses refuse to publish them and the printing plants refuse to print them, you can simply do nothing, and the so-called "letting a hundred schools of thought contend," "freedom of expression and the press," thus turn out to be nothing but empty talk. The proposal suggests that under the premise of complying with "the four principles" and laws, groups and individuals be granted the right to publish books, run newspapers and journals, and manage printing plants. I feel this proposal really warrants our attention; it accords entirely with the party's policy to let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. Some may say that this constitutes bourgeois liberalization, and they therefore are afraid that it would lead to great disorder under heaven and come to no good end. I think this is like worrying about how the sky might fall. First of all, we have the Constitution and laws. Counter-revolutionary, seditious propaganda, revelation of important state secrets, slander and detraction, rumor mongering and hoodwinking of the public and cases of the like can be legally prosecuted. Secondly, Marxism is not afraid of criticism; nor can it be overthrown by way of criticism. Truth or error, fragrant flower or poisonous weed can only be adjudged by the people through free discussion and debate. This way would not only not confuse people's thinking but also provide them with the necessary training and improve their ability to distinguish right from wrong. There is a question of whether or not to trust the masses of the people involved here. The proletarian dictatorship is a dictatorship of the majority over the minority, whereas the bourgeois dictatorship is a dictatorship of the minority over the majority. Even a bourgeois dictatorship generally permits the legitimate existence of the Communist Party and its freedom to propagate Marxism, our socialist state under the proletarian dictatorship is entirely capable of letting the masses of the people take the initiative in setting up and managing journalistic and publishing enterprises according to law and letting

the state provide all material guarantees. Can our socialist state not even do these things? If the question of freedom of expression and the press is not solved, the Constitution's pertinent provisions in this regard would remain words on paper, and socialist democracy can only be empty.

Besides, there are also two great benefits if we operate this way: one is to divert a misunderstanding in the common people's thinking, as they take every article or even every word in the newspapers, journals, and books as representing the views of the party and the government. This misunderstanding has resulted precisely from the party and the government running the newspapers and publishing the books all this time. In our external propaganda, we are still not good at making use of the strength of the people's public opinions: the reason also lies here. Concerning a certain foreign country's foreign policy or domestic problem, we are also entitled to criticize; if this is done by civilian newspapers and publications, it would not represent any statement of the party or the government. This would spare us disputes involving such a foreign country. Other countries are doing things precisely this way; if we can only express ourselves through the party and the government on everything, would that be imposing restrictions on ourselves? The other is that, except the editorials of newspapers and the introductions to books which represent the editors' points of view, responsibility for all other articles is shouldered by the authors themselves: this serves to do away with the common people's erroneous thinking that all articles are directives of the party or the government, that they are therefore all completely correct, and they must thus all be followed without fail. As a result, people will be prompted to do their own independent thinking, and the good effect of their resorting to lively thinking in order to put the state machinery into operation will also be achieved. This is going to be extremely beneficial in helping people avoid and overcome stultification, stagnation, narrowmindedness and conservatism in their thinking.

We have not yet formulated any information or press law. In the 1950's of the early days after the establishment of our state, those relevant laws and directives promulgated by press control organs of the state have also become obsolete and can no longer meet the needs of today. Expeditionary formulation of such information and press laws and guarantees for the realization of the people's democratic rights of freedom of expression and the press as provided by the Constitution through concrete laws will be of great significance to the enrichment of our literary and artistic works and academic research and the development of our socialist cultural enterprises.

5 November 1980

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## PARTY AND STATE

### BASIC-LEVEL LEADERSHIP WORK STRESSED

#### Mediation of Civilian Disputes

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jan 81 p 1

[Report: "Neihuang County Sets Up Civilian Disputes Mediation Groups at Production Brigades and Production Teams—Relies on the Masses To Solve Problems With Letters and Visits at the Grass-roots Level"]

[Text] In an attempt to seriously do a good job in handling letters and visits, Neihuang County, Henan Province, has set up civilian disputes mediation committees and civilian disputes mediation groups respectively at production brigades and production teams to mobilize and rely on cadres and the masses at the grass-roots level to carry out the tasks of achieving stability and unity, mediate and resolve disputes, so as to have problems solved at the basic level. This has helped to obtain good results. During the past year, the county has basically reversed the passive situation of having to face the visits made by more than 100 of the masses every day at the party county committee office. From January to November last year, Neihuang County received altogether 891 cases presented by letters and visits, of which 794 cases have already been disposed of. Since August 1980, Neihuang County no longer finds anybody going to Beijing to make such a visit.

Among the cases presented by letters and visits, a considerable portion consists of general civilian disputes, such as disputes concerning housing lots, properties, trees, families, neighborhoods, clans, etc. Problems like these can be easily solved on the spot if there are only people coming forward to mediate and do some work in persuasion and education. Jiang Hongliang [1203 3163 0081] of Yao's Production Brigade, Dougonggong Commune, did not care to acquiesce because the brigade made the mistake of cutting down a tree that belonged to his family. Because of improper handling on the part of the secretary of the brigade party branch at the time, the two sides stuck to their respective grounds. As a result, a litigation was brought directly to the Party Central Committee and it became one of the "old, big and difficult" cases that remained insoluble for a long time. The Neihuang county party committee seriously summed up its experience and lessons in handling such cases and came to recognize that it was very important to do a good job in providing mediation by relying on the masses and to solve contradictions before they became aggravated. For this reason, they have already set

up 430 civilian disputes mediation committees in the county's 500 production brigades and 1,684 civilian disputes mediation groups in its 2,416 production teams. Members of these committees and groups include cadres of the production brigades and production teams, old party members, old members of poor peasants associations, and certain persons who enjoy prestige among the masses and uphold justice and who are enthusiastic in mediating disputes for the masses, as well as certain respected elders and seniors, are especially elected to participate. Thus, numerous basic-level cadres and certain influential persons have been mobilized to do ideological work on the masses. Since those who participate in these civilian disputes mediation groups are all natives of the village, and they have usually a fair understanding of the causes, concrete conditions, and principals of the disputes, when they are given the chance to do the job, problems are more susceptible to proper solutions.

### Personal Responsibility System

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jan 81 p 3

[Report by Bo Yugang [2672 3768 0474] and Cui Shusen [1508 2885 2773]: "Overcome Bureaucratism, Improve Work Efficiency—Organs Under Direct Jurisdiction of Fushun Municipal Party Committee Set Up Personal Responsibility System: Definite Results Have Been Achieved Since the Beginning of Their Operation; Leading Cadres Now Have Time To Go Down to Grass-roots Level To Conduct Investigation and Study So as To Solve Problems"]

[Text] In order to overcome bureaucratism and improve work efficiency, the Fushun municipal committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Liaoning Province since last year has prompted organs under direct jurisdiction of the municipal committee to set up the personal responsibility system at different times, and achieved definite results.

The Fushun Municipal Party Committee first formulated the respective jurisdictions of duties and responsibilities of various departments, committees, divisions and various bureaus and offices; it then formulated the personal responsibilities of the individuals, and at the same time it also formulated various working standards and necessary working procedures. When such a personal responsibility system was established, power and responsibility were determined according to each person's office, tasks were assigned according to teamwork, and quantity and quality of work and time limit for completion were determined according to the tasks thus assigned. In this process of setting up the personal responsibility system, they took the lead to start the work with the municipal party committee itself. Comrade Cheng Xu [4453 1645], secretary of the municipal party committee, took the lead first of all to formulate his own personal responsibility and put himself under the supervision and inspection of the standing committee and the local party branch and party group; other secretaries and standing committee members also undertook to formulate their respective personal responsibilities.

In order to assure the realization of the personal responsibility system, organs under direct jurisdiction of the Fushun Municipal Party Committee united the establishment of this personal responsibility system and inner-party democratic

life with the study of the "Guiding Principles," and set certain definite dates for inspection, appraisal and comparison, the development of criticism and self-criticism, and the selection of advanced units and superior party members; it also united the establishment of this personal responsibility system with the examination of cadres, so that prior considerations on salary readjustment, promotion, and cadre selection may be given to those comrades who are experts in their fields, who have made great contributions, and whose work style is good.

This personal responsibility system has been established by organs under the direct jurisdiction of the Fushun Municipal Party Committee for less than a year; but in practical work it has already achieved preliminarily rather good results:

It is beneficial to the establishment of normal institutional work procedures and the improvement of work efficiency. For instance, the office of the municipal party committee put forward the "5-service" principle of serving production, serving the basic level, serving the masses, serving the municipal party committee, and serving the organ, and formulated the jurisdictions of duties and responsibilities, operational procedures, and work regulations for each level; work efficiency became conspicuously improved. They succeeded in finding out the wherefores and securing the relies about all the matters they urged others to accelerate or handled themselves.

It is beneficial to overcoming bureaucratism, and has begun to change practices of the past in which duties and responsibilities were unclear, tasks were unspecified, nobody was responsible for certain matters, and some questions became objects of mutual contention and fault-finding and hence dragged for long periods of time without any solution. After the personal responsibility system was established, every level had its responsibility, every person had his responsibility; thus each shouldered its or his own responsibility, there was no passing the buck or dragging the feet, there was no waiting for or depending on others, and hence each took the initiative to handle its or his own work. At the same time, leading cadres got rid of involving trivialities and had time to go down to the grass-roots level to conduct investigation and study and solve practical problems. Last year, principal leading cadres of the municipal party committee helped the Fushun Steel Works to sum up and spread its experience in strengthening enterprise management.

It is beneficial to the improvement of the cadres' level in policy work and operational performance; it helps to make cadres both red and expert. In the past, because of the instability of their posts, the lack of clarity in their responsibilities, the lack of strictness in their requirements, the lack of direction in their study, the lack of definite goals in their research, and the lack of criteria for their examination, there prevailed among many cadres of the organs the practice of "eating from the common pot" in treating good work and bad work as the same, and more work and less work also as the same. After the personal responsibility system was established, high standards and strict requirements were made on the quantity and quality of every cadre's work, and dates were fixed for their examination and appraisal, so that everybody was enabled to get acquainted with prevailing situations, acquire expertise in his field, and master the necessary technology. For this reason, they adopted

different forms in studying politics, studying theories, in studying policies, and in studying their business so as to exert their utmost to acquire basic competence. Today, the number of persons in organs under direct jurisdiction of the municipal party committee who participate in various spare-time and professional studies make up more than two-thirds of the total of these organs.

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CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'ELIMINATION' OF BOURGEOISIE QUESTIONED

Beijing DUSHU [READING] in Chinese Vol 1, 1981 pp 6-17

[Article by Sun Yuesheng [1327 6390 3932]: "On 'Exalting the Proletariat and Eliminating the Bourgeoisie'"]

[Excerpt] Many high-sounding "revolutionary slogans" prevailed in our country during the period of the 10-year catastrophe. They were by no means monotonous but were of a great variety, such as "Continue the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," "Exercise Overall Dictatorship in the Realm of the Upper Structure," "Sweep Away All Freaks and Demons," "Down With the Capitalist-roads," "Exalt the Proletariat and Eliminate the Bourgeoisie," etc., etc. Excruciating practice has proved that, having been shouted for many years, these "revolutionary" slogans were not only of no benefit to socialism, but were the cause of deteriorated the livelihood of the people, degenerated morals in society, mountainous problems and mountainous difficulties; they brought down a New China perfectly healthy since the early days of liberation to the brink of depravity and collapse. After the overthrow of the "gang of four," the aforesaid slogans were naturally repudiated. But there are still individual slogans which seem to be enchanting to some extent and hence are habitually employed by some comrades even to this day. Therefore it is still necessary for us to analyze and criticize such slogans. Among these the one that most warrants our analysis is the paradoxical slogan "Exalt the Proletariate and Eliminate the Bourgeoisie."

Those comrade who prefer to pass on this slogan think that this is a correct slogan which can be used without any problem before the arrival of communism and which therefore should not be abandoned just because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had taken advantage of it.

These comrades fail to see that "every slogan should be put forward on the basis of the overall characteristic of a definite political situation" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 107). If we ignore concrete historical conditions and simply inherit the use in a routine fashion, we are bound to arouse only extremely harmful consequences.

First of all, "exalt the proletariat" means of course to exalt the proletarian class, and "eliminate the bourgeoisie," correspondingly, means to eliminate the bourgeois class. According to this most commonplace understanding, "eliminate



the bourgeoisie," in view of the overall characteristic of today's political situation, can hardly be said to have a pertinent rationale. Because we have already solemnly declared: the bourgeoisie as a class has already been eliminated. Since the bourgeois class is already eliminated, then who is to be eliminated, when we speak of "eliminating the bourgeoisie" today? Are we to hark back to the old question that, while trying to carry out the socialist revolution, we did not even know where the bourgeois were?

Secondly, "eliminate the bourgeoisie" can be interpreted as continuing to eliminate remnant bourgeois factors after the bourgeois class is eliminated, i.e., to eliminate the factors which are not yet eliminated and the newly emergent factors of capitalism in our country. Such an interpretation might seem to have a pertinent rationale, after all, but in reality it artificially makes the question even more complicated. Because, in our realistic life, the question of solving capitalist factors can absolutely not be dealt with by a simple "elimination." Some capitalist factors can indeed be eliminated, but not a few other capitalist factors can only be discarded and not simply eliminated, and still more capitalist factors can only be absorbed, inherited, or even imported but not in any way subject to elimination. We cannot take criticizing, inheriting, reforming, and developing all as "eliminating," using the word "eliminate" to cover all situations.

Let us just ask: are the highly developed productive forces created by capitalism and capitalist science and technology as part of these productive forces to be "eliminated" or not? Are the advanced cultural legacies of capitalism as man's common cultural wealth to be "eliminated" or not? Even in the case of reactionary culture, can we get rid of it simply by trying to "eliminate"? Are the effects of public order, public sanitation, and civilized etiquette in capitalist society which have become part of human civilization to be "eliminated" or not? Is the foreign capital we have absorbed into our joint ventures to be "eliminated" or not? If we really try to eliminate these capitalist factors or phenomena, it would be obviously preposterous. But what was done under this slogan in the past was precisely preposterous, stupid things like this. If we draw up an inventory of the persons, events, and things taken as objects of "eliminate-the-bourgeoisie" during the period of the 10-year catastrophe to be subject to beating, bumping and seizing, ransacking, arresting and killing, and struggling, criticizing and reforming, its volume may not be less than any large-size encyclopedia. In a situation in which the connotation of "eliminate-the-bourgeoisie" is still so imprecise today, what is the good of mentioning the "eliminate-the-bourgeoisie" slogan again? If it is really to be implemented, everybody thus rushes forward to "eliminate" and it simply would not do for anyone not to "eliminate," who can guarantee that stupid things under the rubric of the "Left" being better than the Right would not again be perpetrated?

Some comrades have suggested: the task of eliminating the bourgeoisie includes the elimination of the bourgeois ideology; can it be said that our effort to carry out the socialist revolution should not as a result eliminate the bourgeois ideology? These comrades forgot the dialectics of the development of things, especially the characteristics of ideological development. Unless his physical body is eliminated, a man's thinking will not cease to function; the only thing

to do is to carry out education of ideological struggle so as to let him remold himself. And in the case of the bourgeois ideology as a social ideology, it is fundamentally impossible to be treated by the approach of "elimination." It can only be criticized by the conduct of ideological struggle in the ideological realm. A "book-burning and scholar-burying" measure in the 20th century can hardly be boasted on any ground apart from demonstrating greater cruelty and stupidity. Not only this, insofar as the bourgeois ideology is concerned, neither is it permissible to renounce it in toto without discrimination. We must be good at making distinction and analysis, absorb its strong points so that they would serve our purpose. We should carefully consider the question of the origin of Marxism. Lenin repeatedly explained that Marxism is the "direct continuation" of the achievements of the bourgeois ideology, the "natural successor." Said he: "Marxism is the highest development of the entire historical science, economic science and philosophical science in Europe" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 20, p 198); "the reason why this revolutionary proletarian ideological system of Marxism has gained world historic significance is because it did not abandon the most precious achievements of the bourgeois era but, on the contrary, absorbed and remolded all valuable things in the more than 2,000 years of man's ideological and cultural development" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 362). Only Lin Biao and the "gang of four" sought to exert overall dictatorship over ideology and perpetrate the "eliminate-the-bourgeoisie" type of suppression. This was a typical ideological dictatorship theory, an authentic ideological dying-out theory. As a parallel to this, incidentally, the "proletarian cultural faction" which emerged in the Soviet Union in the 1920's and 1930's may be called the "big brother" of this ideological dying-out theory. They, too, insisted on "eliminating" bourgeois culture in their propagandist refrains, fancying about "establishing" their own characteristic proletarian culture on the ruins of bourgeois culture. This preposterous theory was sternly criticized by Lenin. At the time, Lenin was even of the opinion that it would have been a terrific achievement to merely learn the results of bourgeois culture. Not only can bourgeois ideology not be done away with simply by "elimination," but even feudal ideology cannot be destroyed indiscriminately. The poems of Li Bo [2621 4101] and Du Fu [2629 3940] were of course fraught with the feudal ideology; but they are relished by people even to this day: can they be "eliminated"? The social class origin of the ideological dying-out theory is the "sectarian feeling" of feudalism and the "superior's will" in bureaucratism, but not any proletarian party character. Only a feudal monarch who presumed that his own thinking could determine everything would regard it necessary and possible to "eliminate" all ideas different from his, especially ideas more correct and more sophisticated than his, by administrative methods. Lenin earnestly admonished: "In Marxism there is absolutely nothing similar to 'sectarianism'; it can never be a self-stunting, stultified theory divorced from the path of development of world civilization" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 441). We must not only courageously acknowledge the fact that Marxism had in the past originated from the juncture of the three sciences of the bourgeoisie (Marx and Engels themselves acknowledged this), but should also be brave enough to declare that Marxism's further development today is still going to obtain a point of growth from the juncture of the many sciences along the path of development of world civilization (including academic ideologies of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat). For

instance, sociology, psychology, the science of science, economic mathematics, control theory, systems theory and many other scientific subjects are all marginal sciences which can very hopefully provide Marxism with new factors of development. To advocate "eliminate-the-bourgeoisie" in this regard is very obviously erroneous.

Some comrades have put forward a different opinion, suggesting that the bourgeois way of life and selfish view of life and their manifestations should surely be listed among those subject to the measure of "eliminate-the-bourgeoisie," after all. True, in the case of those comrades with bourgeois way of life and view of life, we should help them to study hard, consciously remold their world view, and establish a healthy way of life and the proletarian view of life; but to hurl the slogan "Exalt the Proletariat and Eliminate the Bourgeoisie" at an effort of this nature is attaching a rather excessive label and taking a rather too warlike posture. Why is it not possible to create a slogan that can distinguish the two categories of contradictions, that is precise in its meaning and pertinent in its phraseology? As for the grave phenomena of law violation, discipline disruption, and moral degeneration that prevail in society, although they are sometimes startling to see, we need not be stunned by them, or even treat them as principal contradictions in the country and hence raise it to the high plane commensurate with the slogan "Exalt the Proletariat and Eliminate the Bourgeoisie," as if whether or not we can "exalt the proletariat" depends entirely on whether or not we can "eliminate the bourgeoisie": such a proletariat would have been too feeble. Yet, the slogan often precisely connects the two together and mentions them in the same vein. Also, from the fundamental standpoint of historical materialism, such phenomena and their view of life are not only so as a result of the influence of capitalism, to a greater extent they are also the outcome of the influence of feudalism; if only this "eliminate-the-bourgeoisie" approach is adopted, the result might not be entirely satisfactory. Many common ills of feudalism became somehow greatly reduced in the capitalist society, this has been a fact of common knowledge. If we invoke "eliminate-the-bourgeoisie" at random in respect to these common ills of feudalism, it is most certainly a misplaced adage. Furthermore, the questions of a particular way of life and personal self-interests are not necessarily fixed and stagnant concepts; they are rather like the waves of tidal current one pushing another forward. For instance, in the past, listening to the music of such bourgeois composers and performers as Beethoven, Schubert, Heifetz, etc., would be regarded as pursuing the bourgeois way of life; now it would be improper to look at it this way. Really, should the proletariat reject such musical bequests of the bourgeoisie? In the past, using a washing machine, refrigerator, tape recorder, etc., was condemned as pursuing the bourgeois way of life; now it is inappropriate to put it this way. Because the improvement of living standards should ordinarily be distinguished from the influence of a certain way of life. In the past, when scenes of intimate chat and kissing between the sexes appeared on the screen and in pictorials, they were regarded as propa-ating the bourgeois way of life; now they can no longer be appraised in the same fashion. Should not the proper and natural flow of love between the sexes be separated from improper and licentious lust? In the past, private lots of land, prizes and honorariums for literary contributions were regarded as a tail of capitalism and object of struggle against selfishness and criticism of revisionism and target of exalting



the proletariat and eliminating the bourgeoisie; today everybody knows that those erroneous judgments were irrelevant. If we take a look at the industrially developed countries, the trend of advancement and forward development in living standards is even more conspicuous; there the living standards of workers are considerably different from those 50 years ago. According to available statistics, the middle strata in these countries have already become the overwhelming majority of their residents; in Britain, for instance, they have reached 90 percent. They have become in their living standards more and more "bourgeoisified." In these countries, in the past capitalists and workers could be distinguished at one glance from what they wore; now this is no longer the case. Therefore, if we attempt to divide the classes from their living standards, we are likely to mess up class relations. After our country puts the four modernizations into effect, it is assured that conspicuous advancement and change in living standards are also going to occur. The things "besieged" or opposed by some as pertaining to the bourgeois way of life today, like countless examples of the past, may very well become what they themselves or their children will be accustomed to in the future. The "eliminate-the-bourgeoisie" slogan with the "elimination" of the bourgeois way of life as its main content often fails to make clear that living standards and way of life are different concepts. If living standards are confused with way of life, it would be necessary for the sloganeer to continue to come up with new interpretations; such a slogan can hardly be an active slogan.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CHINESE COMMUNIST LEGAL SYSTEM REVIEWED THROUGH JIANG QING TRIAL

Hong Kong TUNG-HSIANG [THE TREND] in Chinese No 28, 16 Jan 81 p 14-16

[Article by Kuan Chian [4619 6015]; "Looking at the Chinese Communist Legal System From the Big Trial"]

[Text] The trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques has finally been concluded. Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and the others will meet their well-deserved fate. During this month of court proceedings we saw a kind of one-time review of the Chinese communist legal system.

From the start of the proceedings to the last session of the court, people could observe a continuous improvement in the procedures of the special tribunal. The way the court handled strictly according to law Jiang Qing's disturbance during the last session, deserves our praise, and the way the Central Television Station objectively and openly broadcast the actual scene, detailed in picture and sound, was also appreciated by everyone. However, taking a long view, Communist China's democracy and legal system still have considerable shortcomings; in addition there were 10 years of Cultural Revolution with its period of "a monk opening an umbrella in defiance to human and divine laws." The Beijing trial also shows us that there are still quite a number of problems in the Chinese communist judicial system.

#### Conflicts Between Judicial Authorities and the Media of Public Opinion

Firstly, there is the serious conflict between the Chinese communist judicial authorities and the media of public opinion. The judicial authorities have repeatedly emphasized that this trial will be handled according to law. The foreign press has already pointed out that in this case it had already been decided that the 10 accused are guilty, and that the trial will only decide on the severity of the punishment. To proceed in this manner would violate the legal principle of the presumption of innocence. The views of the foreign press were denied by Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 3342] director of the Institute of Law, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, when he answered reporters of the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY late in November. He said that this would be a distortion of the Chinese law, and emphasized that the big trial will be guided by law, based on facts as evidence and determine according to law whether Jiang Qing and the other accused are guilty.

During the whole procedure, from the time the Special Court received the indictment from the Special Procuratorate, to the decision to open court, up to proceedings in court and arguments in court, small defects of this or that kind may have become noticeable, but from all reports we have seen, proceedings were exactly as Zhang Youyu had predicted in his statement. The only problem was that the propaganda of the Chinese government organs and the media of public opinion ran counter to what Zhang Youyu had stated. For instance, even before the Special Court opened its hearings on the case, the standing committee of the National People's Congress characterized Jiang Qing and the other nine accused as the "Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques." Since they were labelled counterrevolutionaries, how would they possibly still be held innocent? Is this not exactly as the foreign press had said, namely that the court proceedings would only be concerned with the severity of the punishment?

To cite another instance: the day when Zhang Youyu made his statement to the reporters--it was the same day that Huang Yongsheng and the other four men went to trial--the XINHUA broadcast a lengthy news dispatch, "Chronicle of the Bankruptcy of the Lin Biao Counterrevolutionary Revolt," in which it portrayed in sound and picture the whole story how Lin Biao in collusion with Huang Yongsheng and the others planned the revolt and how it went to its doom. One of the guiding principles of the news media in Communist China is to coordinate their work in support of political tasks. This XINHUA news dispatch indeed "coordinated" flawlessly and up to the minute with the trial of the surviving supporters of Lin Biao's evil cause, overawing any dissenting opinion with threatening forebodings. The problem is, a court trial is now on and is to proceed according to law. However, before the special court had time to come to a conclusion whether Huang Yongsheng and the others had participated in the revolt of the Lin Biao clique, XINHUA had actually decided the case. One may therefore wonder, who is the real judicial organ? Is it XINHUA or the special court? Is the special court located at No 1 Zhengyi Street or is it in the editorial office of the XINHUA?

During the entire period of the trial, there was not only XINHUA but there were also other Communist China newspapers which in a similar manner seemed to reverse the proper order of things. In the end a rather funny condition regularly prevailed as between the law court and the newspapers: the newspapers decided that the "united fleet" that Lin Liguang had organized was a counterrevolutionary military force and later the law court came to the same decision; the newspapers decided that Jiang Qing had falsely incriminated and persecuted the masses of cadres and later the special court pronounced a sentence to the same effect, etc., etc. There were too many instances to quote. General opinion in foreign countries came to regard this trial as a kind of show. Its disregard for the legal principles had little in common with the statements of the broadcast media of Beijing.

Some people may argue that it is generally acknowledged that the Lin and Jiang cliques are guilty of the most heinous crimes, why then not treat them this way? The question is correct but "generally acknowledged" cannot be substituted for the law. Law is scrupulously concerned with evidence and with proceedings in correct form. Of course if you say that the principle of "presumption of innocence" is a concept of Western bourgeois law while China has its own Chinese legal principles, then we have no further argument.

## Shallow Legal Understanding Among the Judges

Another problem is that the judicial staff in Communist China have a very shallow understanding of legal principles and also show up rather poorly in their ability to respond or cope with situations. Many of my friends mentioned: in their interrogations most of the judges acted like devils and fiends, arrogant and overbearing, which was highly repugnant to all onlookers. This was indeed the fact. It is one of the consequences of the many years of Chinese communist education in political ideology. In their minds the judges probably thought unless they treated the accused in this way they would show insufficient political consciousness or be lacking the full measure of class hatred or be ignoring the distinct demarcation between ourselves and the enemy. This is really a sign of immaturity. A law court is a place where cases have to be decided upon according to law and according to law the accused is still innocent before sentence has been pronounced. Obviously the judge is after all a judge but that gives him no right to harshly upbraid or to act arrogant and domineering. On the other hand if the judge from the start harbors a prejudice against the accused, this is bound to have an influence on the court's ability to hand down an objectively fair and just sentence. These principles must be observed even if the case is one concerning an unruly and wicked person like Jiang Qing whose crimes would not be expiated even by her death.

People coming from Beijing have told me that in the case of this trial the court would always draw up an agenda before starting the day's hearing and then proceed according to this agenda. In the case of all the other accused, proceedings could basically be carried on according to the agenda. However when it came to the interrogation of Jiang Qing, the "strategic plan" was frequently upset and had the judges time and again at a loss as to what to do. With the predetermined agenda no more intact to be followed, the judges, quite on the contrary, allowed themselves to be dragged by Jiang Qing into all sorts of irrelevant matters.

## Zeng Hanzhou Fell Into the Trap

This clearly indicates a lack of flexibility on the part of the Communist Chinese judges. There was another thing that made a deep impression on people: when Jiang Qing caused some disturbance in court on 23 December and was forcibly removed from the court room, the public in court reacted with a clamorous applause. At the next session of the court on the 29th, Jiang Qing directed a question to the presiding judge Zeng Hanzhou. Is there anything in that which would violate court procedure? Zeng Hanzhou immediately warned Jiang Qing not to be so bumptious.

Zeng Hanzhou's reply was not very appropriate and viewing that scene actually engendered feelings of sympathy for Jiang Qing. Because the rules of the court strictly forbade any shouting or noisy demonstrations, the clamorous applause by which the public in court vented its indignation, although excusable, was definitely in violation of court rule. The question that Jiang Qing asked on that occasion was asked with the intention of creating an embarrassment, but unexpectedly Zeng Hanzhou fell into the trap. Warning her not to be bumptious first of all gave people the feeling of an unreasonable act because merely raising a fully reasonable question was not at all being bumptious. It would therefore have been more effective if she would not have been reprimanded for bumptiousness but if the



the subject could have been avoided with words like, "this is not relevant to the present case" or "you are not entitled to raise this question." This would not only have avoided perplexing the public in court but would also not have lent added strength to Jiang Qing's arrogant attitude or given the people the feeling of unreasonable harshness and of relying on authority to put somebody down.

The scheduling of the court agenda was also very questionable in many respects. The trial was arranged in such a way that the interrogation of the other nine accused came first, leaving Jiang Qing to the end. Reporters from Hong Kong's leftist newspapers, who had gone to Beijing to cover the case, reported in their long distance telephone dispatches that this was the way to isolate Jiang Qing from any supporting base. However, people's impression was that Jiang Qing did not feel isolated at all. On the contrary, since she was giving a solo performance, she attracted more attention. A trial court has to base on nothing else but the law and the facts of the case. If the evidence is conclusive, even if the accused denies his guilt, the verdict of the court could still be guilty. It would therefore not have been necessary to adopt a strategy of isolating Jiang Qing. This idea is actually contrary to a sensible understanding of the legal system. Of course these are only conclusions drawn by a Hong Kong reporter; perhaps the special tribunal has had some other purpose in mind or had to consider certain undisclosed difficulties in arraying Jiang Qing last. That of course would be quite a different matter.

#### Defense Lawyers Without Defending Ability

Another problem was, as the trial revealed to us, that the institution of defense lawyers seems to have hands and feet all tied up and thus be incompetent as far as the ability to defend an accused is concerned. The lawyers basically limit themselves to requesting leniency and light sentences for their clients. The only outstanding men were the two lawyers for Yao Wenyuan; they pointed to the insufficient evidence in the indictment and asked that the accusation against Yao of having taken part in the counterrevolutionary military revolt in Shanghai be dropped.

In Chinese society it is emphasized that the lawyer must stand on the side of the people. This is a principle that we must admit is of positive value. The way practiced in Western society where the lawyer tries by hook or by crook to cover up or wiggling out on behalf of his client also does not commend itself for adoption. The problem is that there is a real contradiction here, to stand on the side of the people and at the same time defend the client. How to solve this problem is a confounding and puzzling question.

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CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### PUBLIC TRIAL OF JIANG QING WELCOMED

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 5 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Wu Zuguang [0702 4371 0342]: "We Must Let Jiang Qing Know"]

[Text] Upon the arrival of the New Year of 1981, what is the best gift and greatest joy received by the people of China? It is the public trial of the 10 principals of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's gang.

Joy is mixed with anger. Seeing the 10 diabolical rascals, anyone will immediately recall the 10-year calamity with all its bloodshed and grief! This group of ruffians and scoundrels are unsurpassable in human history when it comes to the evils committed and the hatred incurred, especially the incorrigible Jiang Qing.

On the television screen, the audience in the whole world has seen the true features of this absolutely evil witch. Once again she has shown people the meaning of "shamelessness" and "the absence of the sense of shame!"

For 10 years, Jiang Qing relied on her power and connections and, by merely moving her lips, sent people to prison, subjected them to interrogations by torture, scattered their wives and children, and ruined the families and killed the people. Even she herself cannot keep count of the number of deaths caused by her. Yet, her categorical answer now is: "Don't know!"

Jiang Qing was already under arrest and rebelled in the thirties. This was revealed by big scoundrel Kang Sheng [1660 3932] before his death. During the years of her rampage, she casually presented the secret documents and military maps of the state to a foreign reporter who was erecting a memorial and writing a biography for her. Her ugly and rotten private life is known to everyone, yet, in court, she openly curses others for being "evil, special agents, and rebels!"

Everyone knows that she was merely a third-rate actress in the movies and theatrical groups in the thirties... Yet she actually called the judges and witnesses at her trial "minor characters on stage."

In the course of the trial, when she failed to come up with an argument and had no answer, she actually declared: "I am a monk carrying an umbrella--defying laws human and divine."

When defending herself, one of the inconceivable issues brought up by her was that, in the battle to defend Yanan in 1947, she was the only one at Chairman Mao's side. Loudly she asked: "You people! Where were you?" Her question was so preposterous and ridiculous that the ordinarily solemn and quiet visitors' section rocked with laughter for a long moment. Jiang Qing appeared pleased with herself amidst the sound of laughter.

Jiang Qing's question must be answered. In the battle to defend Yanan, Chairman Mao was the commanding general of the PLA, and the party must assign the best reserve force to protect the leader of the revolution and assure the safety of the nerve center of the liberation war. For this very reason, Jiang Qing benefited from the protection. That she could commit all kinds of outrages during the 10 years of turmoil was precisely because of the protection rendered by the comrades who disregarded their own life or death, many of them shedding their blood on the battlefield, and whom she now asked "where were you!"

In court, this unpardonably wicked Jiang Qing actually wildly proposed that she wanted to hold a public debate and walk to the execution ground before a mass meeting of 150,000 people in front of Tiananmen.... She still dreamed of the arrogance on the rostrum of Tiananmen in the long departed sixties. We must let her know that, precisely due to the total collapse of the "gang of four," which ended the era of lawlessness when evil people went on a rampage and good people encountered misfortune, and which gradually brought about the era of democracy and the rule of law, that she can survive today, eating and dressing well and talking nonsense shamelessly in court. What protects her is nothing else but today's law. This point is easily verified. All we need to do is for the court to make a brief announcement that "Jiang Qing will no longer be protected; let her have the freedom of movement." After walking out of this court, it will not be necessary for her to call a mass meeting of 150,000, for it will not take 5 minutes before she is torn to pieces by the enraged people!

Gathering hypocrisy and vulgarity, shamelessness, baseness and filth, and treachery and viciousness all in one person is extremely rare in human history. Today, Jiang Qing has become a true "sample," and the good and honest people must always remember this bitter lesson.

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CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### IMPORTANCE OF KNOWLEDGE, INTELLECTUALS EXPLAINED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Yu Mu [0060 2606]: "'Knowledge Is the Weapon of the Laborers to Win Liberation'--an Informal Discussion on Knowledge and the Intellectuals"]

[Text] In the years of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" rampage, knowledge and the intellectuals encountered a misfortune rarely seen in the world. It was a great calamity of the Chinese people. The greater the urgency for the realization of the "four modernizations," the more intense is our pain over its serious consequences.

People's reactions are so very different, to the extent that even such a great calamity has not awakened all of them. The moment our party begins to bring order out of chaos in the intellectuals policy, immediately there is the remark that "the intellectuals are cocky again." Whenever the newspapers report the achievements of the scientists, some people attack literature and art for entering the ivory tower and remind people not to forget the laboring people with "cow dung on their feet" and "greasy dirt on their body," as if the intellectuals had ascended the palaces of the aristocrats.

The situation deserves our pondering.

Comparison, a Good Way against Deception

When Lin Biao, Kang Sheng [1660 3932] and the "gang of four" trampled culture and persecuted the intellectuals, they always declared their high esteem for the laboring people, as if their violence against culture were in consideration of the laboring people. With convincing words, they easily caused some people to form a misconception, feeling that the intellectuals must always "tuck their tails between their legs" to conform to the demands of the proletariat.

Lu Xun [7627 6598] said that the villagers often mistook copper sulfide for gold, and words alone could not convince them of their mistake; one way to convince them was to let them weigh a piece of gold ore in their hands. "Comparison is a good way against deception." We hope that the comrades who still cannot distinguish the true and the false even now will also make comparisons



and throw away the piece of "copper sulfide" still tightly clutched in their hands.

"Knowledge is strength." Bacon's famous saying was criticized as a bourgeois slogan. However, "Knowledge is the weapon of the laborers to win liberation," Lenin's even weightier assessment of knowledge, was concealed. Many profound Marxist expositions on the subject are buried in dust. To see the real gold, we wish to present a relatively full exposition here.

In his letter to the International Socialist University Students Congress in 1893, Engels wrote: "A proletariat doing mental labor should be engendered among their ranks (the university students--writer's note), with the mission to produce a tremendous effect in the imminent revolution together with their worker brothers doing manual labor. The bourgeois revolutions in the past only asked the universities for lawyers as the raw material for their political activists. Besides the lawyers, the worker class, for its liberation, needs doctors, engineers, chemists, agronomists and other specialists, because the issue is not only in managing the political machine, but also in managing the entire social production. What is needed here is not resonant phrases, but rich knowledge."

At the Eighth Soviet Congress, Lenin said: "Hereafter, appearing at the forums of All-Russia Congresses will be not only politicians and administrative personnel, but also engineers and agronomists. It will be the beginning of the era of the greatest happiness. By that time, there will be less and less politics. People will seldom discuss politics, and their comments will not be so long-winded and ponderous. Those who will talk more will be the engineers and agronomists."

Such practical and clear principles of the proletarian revolutionary teachers which are easily understood by any unprejudiced person were turned into serious crimes during Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" rampage. Engels felt that a proletariat doing mental labor should be engendered from the universities of the bourgeois society to struggle alongside the proletariat doing manual labor, yet our university students trained in a socialist country became "bourgeois intellectuals." Engels felt that, in managing social production in its entirety, the worker class must rely on the knowledge of the specialists, and Lenin declared that, when more engineers and agronomists expressed themselves at the Soviet forums, "it will be the beginning of the era of the greatest happiness," yet here in our country, the more books one studied, the more stupid one became, and the more knowledge one gained, the more reactionary one was; developing the effect of specialists was "experts managing the plant," "experts managing the school," "experts managing the country" and "following the capitalist path; only "laymen leading the experts" was the essence of "Marxism" and the "proletarian revolutionary line."

In former years, finding some people calling themselves "Marxists" to talk nonsense, Marx made a profound remark: "I only know that I myself am not a 'Marxist.'" Unfortunately, even today, people are still such "Marxists."

## A Mutant of Feudalism

Tracing the source and scrutinizing the origin of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" words and deeds of trampling on culture and ruining talents, one will see that they were closely linked with feudalism, having nothing to do with Marxism.

The primitive cultivation technique of the self-sufficient individual production, which served as the economic foundation of the feudal society, changed little in thousands of years, while the small size of the farms limited it to a narrow sphere of activity. Isolated from culture, the peasants relied on experience passed on from generation to generation, revolving in cycles. Meanwhile, the rulers dominating the small producers, from the emperors to the bureaucrats of the various levels, were all gods and masters within their own spheres of control. Their will was the law and their whim was the truth, issuing orders by gestures and commanding hundreds with a single call. Their words were never questioned and their desires never resisted. Their control came from position and power, not from knowledge and talent. Their endeavor was merely to amass wealth and preserve the ruling order, while the small peasant economy was extremely easy to manage, and they did not have the responsibility for its operation. Therefore, as long as the lord held a great power in his hands, "all things on earth are for my benefit," and whether he had knowledge or not was inconsequential. While there had to be some able individuals with cultural knowledge and military skills when attempting to gain power, once they gained control, even the mediocrities did not hesitate to consider themselves omniscient and omnipotent, qualified to command everything. After all, "with power, one can order the ghosts to turn the millstone," and everything revolved around the axis of power. In "Famous Persons and Famous Sayings," Lu Xun discussed such odd phenomenon:

"When a scholar studied in a private school, he had nothing to do with the world and the country. The moment he passed the government examinations, he 'became famous overnight,' and qualified to write history, weigh the documents, rule over the people and control the rivers. By the end of the Qing Dynasty, he could even run schools, open coal mines, train new soldiers, build warships, introduce reforms and make observation trips abroad. What were the achievements? No need for me to say more."

Placing ten thousand professions under one profession, subordinating the experts to the laymen and considering incompetence as omnipotence: In the feudal society, it was inevitably thus, and could only be thus.

The absolutism of the feudal emperors and bureaucrats created the superstition in absolute power. Power was omnipotent, and the will of the power holders ruled the country. In the years when such superstition was widespread, knowledge inevitably became negligible. The supremacy of power and the lowliness of knowledge were the two sides of the same coin.

To maintain control, the feudal dynasties needed the service of some intellectuals (there were no modern science or modern intellectuals in the feudal society; we tentatively use this term to indicate the scholars at that time) and bestowed position and salaries on them. However, the rulers were not as courteous toward others who were beyond the circle of the elite. The saying that "everything is inferior; only studying is superior" actually meant that "everything is inferior; only becoming an official is superior." The poor scholars who failed to become officials, such as those like Confucius, remained "inferior." Therefore, "study to become an official" and "studying is useless" existed simultaneously. Studying was not just useless, but very detrimental. One of the detriments was that, the more people studied books, the more comments they made, which was most disagreeable to the despots. Thereupon, the First Emperor of Qin burned the books and buried the scholars, and Liu Bang urinated in the hat of a scholar. Even Sima Qian who served as the official historian also lamented that his field of "literature and history" was "ridiculed by the emperor, tolerated as prostitution and performing, and scorned by the common people." Even after becoming a famous poet, Li Bai still felt that "the people of the world regard me as insignificant as a feather." One can see the general situation. By the time of the Yuan Dynasty, the country was controlled by an economically backward people, and the position of the scholars dropped even lower. The people were classified into levels: Bureaucrats, functionaries, monks, taoists, doctors, workers, artisans, prostitutes, scholars, and beggars. Scholars ranked ninth, below prostitutes and above beggars. By the time of the "Great Cultural Revolution," there was the title "Old-Nine Wu," which was nothing new.

By studying the ancient, we will understand the modern. Some historical analysis will help us penetrate the "Marxism" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and realize that their trampling of culture and persecution of the intellectuals were merely a mutant of feudalism under the new historical conditions.

### The Interest of the Laboring People

Scanning the development of history, we will be able to recognize, from the attitude toward knowledge and the intellectuals, the signs indicating whether a society was progressive or backward, civilized or barbarous.

If it is said that such merchandise as the supremacy of power and the lowliness of knowledge was a normalcy in the feudal society, then, it has today become a coffin suffocating all signs of life.

Ever since machinery replaced manual tools, social production stepped out of the confines of experience and entered the world of science. Modern mass production has merged into one with science, and science has become the nerve of modern mass production. The ever changing modern science influences the entire social life. Scientific development is linked with the wealth and fortune of a nation. In our country, socialized production and the socialist system have made the social economy into an organic entity, and whether we have the scientific understanding of its law of movement affects the success or failure of

the socialist cause. Under such historical conditions, if we still permit the idea of power controlling everything and the laymen guiding the experts, the ghost of the small peasant economy, to haunt us, scorning science and the intellectuals and acting according to our whims, it will be like a blind man riding an eyeless horse over a deep abyss in midnight, extremely dangerous. We must also keep in mind that all our social activities and all realms of our social life are organized and placed under leadership, and the powers of the leaders are great, controlling almost everything and omnipotent. Under such conditions, the combination of ignorance and unrestrained power and the blinding of contempt for science and the subjective arbitrary will of the superior officials will result in tragedies. The shocking and bitter incidents of the sinking of "Bohai No 2," the evil of shifting the water in the west to the east, the damage of enclosing and reclaiming land from a lake and the waste of blindly undertaking gigantic projects were still the minor ones; the foolhardy "3-year great leap forward" created an economic crisis and caused a national famine. Were all these lessons not sufficient to make us smarter, reduce our superstition in power and increase our respect for scientific knowledge? Naturally, when stressing science, our vision must not be narrow and shallow, seeing only science and engineering. Without the liberal arts, the scientific management of politics, the economy and the entire social life, and education and literature and art, science and engineering will be like sourceless water, unable to achieve anything by themselves.

We must never be so innocent that the moment we hear someone praise labor, we assume that he is a representative of the interest of the laboring people. There are all kinds of praises, some out of revolutionary sentiments while others out of a despicable intent, or even a counterrevolutionary need.

Marx extolled the power of reforming the world with labor, but the task he assigned himself was not to compose eulogies, but to devote the energy of his entire life to studying and expounding the requirements for the liberation of labor. He profoundly revealed the alienation of labor and how labor was a process of tortures, exhaustion and abnormal development, and expounded that a highly developed production force was "the primary condition for the liberation of labor" and that science was production force and the revolutionary strength pushing history forward. He felt a sincere joy over the new scientific discoveries, and ranked scientist (Kebule) with (Spartacus,) the heroic figures most beloved by him. Since then, the revolutionary impact of the natural sciences on the tremendous development of the production force, on improving the life and working conditions of the laborers, on relieving the tedious and heavy manual labor and on reducing the gap between manual and mental labor has again confirmed Marx's scientific truth.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" praised labor. Living in extravagance and dissipation, they extolled the beauty of manual labor, the nobleness of being caked with mud and the glory of enduring hardships, yet they kept silent about the laborers toiling like beasts of burden, squandered the fruits of their blood and sweat, abhorred the demand to improve the material conditions in order to liberate labor, and trampled culture and persecuted the intellectuals under the excuse of venerating labor. They praised the laboring people, not



from their position as revolutionaries, but as those living in comfort and ease and as slave masters. What they practiced had long been invented in history. Engels exposed such praises for the laborers, urging them "to be satisfied with their destiny in this world, with black bread and potatoes and with servitude and low wages." (See "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3 p 224). Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were not the innovators. They advocated "rather an uncultured proletariat than a cultured bourgeoisie," embellishing the absence of culture with the "proletarian" title and attaching the "bourgeois" label to culture. What they advocated was even more ingenious and deceptive than Confucius' flagrant theory that "the people may be made to follow, but not to know."

Science is different from the ancient classics, and today's intellectuals are not the same as the old scholars who studied writing and swore allegiance to the emperor. History has pointed out to us that science must go hand in hand with democracy, and that, wherever science develops, there one will find demands for democracy. It is the vital danger to despotism. Discrediting knowledge and the intellectuals with the "bourgeois" label serves to make the intellectuals "tuck their tails between legs" and become submissive and to make the workers and peasants stay away from knowledge and satisfied with ignorance. Marx said: "The incompetents are the material to create a monarchy, and the monarch is the king of the incompetents." To discredit knowledge in the name of the "proletariat" is indeed a good method to create "material for the monarchy." As for the despotic Lin Biao and the "gang of four" themselves, they tightly controlled culture and knowledge in their hands. While bestowing high positions and handsome salaries on such intellectuals as Liang Xiao [2733 2400] and Luo Siding [5012 1835 7844] who bartered their souls and fawned and flattered, they let their own children attend colleges and study abroad. "Studying to become officials," living in ease and comfort and uncontaminated by "greasy dirt," "cow dung" and "mud," they were the born representatives of the "proletariat." The negative and the positive formed an entity: Monopolizing culture and enforcing obscurantism.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed us into a hopeless situation. Our party's correct lines since the Third Plenary Session have opened a bright prospect for our country's new historical era. From the example of the leading comrades of the Party Central Committee who take the lead to study science, we see the inception of a civilized socialist trend. However, we must soberly realize that the burden of ancient history, the deep-rooted forces of habit, the confusion created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and certain defects in our systems have piled many stumbling blocks on our road of advance. The discrimination and abuse encountered by the comrades attending the National Elementary School Language Teaching Conference is an illustration. We must find the existence of such barbarous phenomena disgraceful and learn a lesson: We must work relentlessly and make everyone understand that all ideas, comments, conduct and methods scorning knowledge and discriminating against the intellectuals are contrary to the interest of the laboring people, incompatible like fire and water.

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CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### MINORITY PROBLEMS IN NEW SOCIALIST PERIOD BEING SOLVED

#### Solve Problems by the Rules

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 Nov 80 p3

[Article by Mao Aohai [5399 2047 3189] (Mongolian Nationality :  
"Solve Nationality Problems in Accordance with the Rules")]

[Text] After Liberation the reactionary dictatorship of the exploiting classes was overthrown and a system of nationality repression was basically eliminated. China has already entered a new era of friendly cooperation between all nationalities. Is it now necessary to emphasize the subject of nationality equality? My answer is in the affirmative. This is because the influences and remaining poisons of countless years of the policy of nationality repression by feudalistic big-nationality chauvinism has strong, deep roots. New China smashed the systems of feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, but this does not mean that it also eliminated the traces of past years of nationality repression. China's extant major nationality problems are all related to the traces of historical nationality repression. For one example, the variety of nationality problems facing the language and writing systems, customs and habits and religions and beliefs of each nationality are mainly the result of past big nationality rejection of minority language and writing systems and a lack of respect for their habits and customs and religions and beliefs. The persistence of these influences has resulted in estrangement between the nationalities. For another example, the historical imbalance between the economic, cultural and political development of the various nationalities is actually a problem of inequality. On the one hand these imbalances are definitely caused by the historical conditions of a nationality's development and by the differing geographical conditions. On the other hand they are also a result of the Han nationality's relatively developed economy and culture and large population which developed toward the border areas and pushed the minority peoples into the mountain forests and desert grasslands. For a third example, the historical estrangement between the nationalities and the problem of the ideological influences of big-nationality chauvinism and local nationality chauvinism are a concrete

reflection of the traces of nationality repression. Obviously, China not only has nationality problems but these problems also reflect the traces of this repression. Because of this, China is still faced with the important task of eliminating the traces of nationality repression. This is a long term and difficult task. This requires that we not only should emphasize the great unity between all nationalities but that at the same time we should strongly emphasize the complete equality between all nationalities. Therefore, the rule for socialist nationality problems is peaceful unity. When the nationality problems are seen and handled according to this rule the relationships between the nationalities will then be good and the problems will diminish. If otherwise, then the problems will increase.

In the early 1950s after the establishment of the New China the GONGTONG GANGLING [COMMON PROGRAM] ruled that nationality equality should be upheld on the principle of strengthening nationality unity and consolidating the unification of the homeland. In actual work there was vigorous promotion of autonomous nationality regions, the establishment of all levels of autonomous nationality districts and implementation of the rights of minority peoples to be their own masters. Moreover, the publicized propaganda also constantly emphasized the importance of maintaining the principle of nationality equality. Relationships between the Han people and the minority peoples reached unprecedented conditions of great harmony. People nowadays characterize the nationality relationships of that period as the golden age of history of nationality relationships. The appearance of this golden age was by no means accidental. On the one hand, this was because of the history of democratic reforms and the emancipation of minority working people. On the other hand, the nationality policies and nationality work at that time was more generally in accord with the realities that existed, which is to say that basically the observation and handling of nationality problems according to the rule for nationality problems--the demands for equality and unity--successfully obtained great results.

However, the 1954 Constitution of the People's Republic of China was overly optimistic in its evaluation of the problem of nationality relationships in this golden age. Section Five of the Preamble said, "All nationalities in China have already united to become a great family of free and equal nationalities." This is not in perfect agreement with reality. At that time, although the relationships between the nationalities had already shown an unprecedented golden age of friendly cooperation, nonetheless the traces of the historical repression of nationalities and the genuine inequality that existed between the nationalities had not been entirely eliminated. Under such conditions it was premature to announce that freedom and equality had already been attained. This optimistic evaluation could not but result in neglect of making further advances in equal rights for the various nationalities. The people then forgot about the word "equality" in the phrase equality and unity and class struggle became the outline for all types of work (including nationality work) which then placed the opinions and demands of the minority nationalities in the position of being trends toward class struggle and tendencies of local



nationality chauvinism. In the anti-rightist struggles local nationality chauvinism, which is a people's internal contradiction, was handled as a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. This confused the two types of contradictions, broadened contradictions between the nationalities and increased the estrangements of the nationalities. It obviously is in error to not follow the rule of nationality problems in the examination and handling of nationality problems. During the ten years of chaos Lin Biao and the "gang of four" carried out their extreme leftist line and promoted the Han chauvinism policy of repression of nationalities, which had serious consequences in nationality relationships. After smashing the "gang of four" the Central Committee of the CCP eliminated the chaos and restored order, carried out radical reforms, resolutely restored and carried out the policies of nationality equality and autonomous rule in nationality areas so that conditions underwent a basic change for the better. The people of minority nationalities said, "The spring-time of nationality work has returned." Nonetheless, there still is another stage to undergo in the overall implementation of the line, direction and policies of the Central Committee of the CCP. This is especially so in view of the fact that not only is it difficult to eliminate in a short time the influences of several thousand years of feudalistic big-nationality chauvinism, simply curing the chronic illness of leftist tendencies during the last 20 years also is no easy matter. As for the present, the articles published by such disciplines as history, the nationality plays written by literary authors and even in the research on nationality and in nationality work there is a one-sided emphasis on unity and a neglect of the principles of nationality equality. Obviously, not many people consciously understand and uphold the rule of nationality problems. It is therefore imperative that we now propagandize and strongly emphasize the understanding and upholding of the rule of nationality problems--the demand for equality and unity.

#### Uphold Nationality Equality Principle

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Ding Guoyong [0002 0948 0516] (Hui Nationality): "Insist on the Principles of Nationality Equality"]

[Text] During the socialist period the substance of nationality problems is to eliminate the historical causes of true inequality between the nationalities, to aid the minority nationalities in developing their economy and culture, to enable the nationalities to achieve genuine equality, to rapidly ascend into the ranks of advanced nationalities and to make the transition into socialist society. These problems are important organizational components of the Marx-Leninist theory of nationalities, are the major contents of nationality problems in the socialist period and are the basic task in socialist nationality work.



After the birth of the New China the past system of nationality repression was eliminated and our country became a great family of nationalities with equality, unity, mutual aid and friendship. However, because the reactionary dictatorship class carried out generations of nationality repression and nationality prejudice, most of our minority peoples lived in distant border areas and remote mountain districts, their economy and culture was extremely backward and their livelihood standards were very low. These are disadvantageous conditions for the prosperity and development of the minority people. In order to change the backward conditions of the minority people and permit them to enter the world of prosperity and abundance the CCP followed the basic principles of Marx-Leninism, unified our concrete conditions, formulated a series of policies, selected a series of effective actions, gave aid to the minority nationality districts in terms of manpower, materials, finances and technology, obtained obvious results and won the trust of all minority people. The historical remnants of the political, economic and cultural backwardness of the minority peoples are now being gradually eliminated. Taking the Ningxia Hui Nationality Region as an example of the Hui Nationality, from the establishment of the autonomous region in October of 1958 until October of 1979, industrial production increased 28-fold, there were obvious advances in cultural and educational affairs, there was 3.1-fold increase in middle and elementary schools and an over 4-fold increase in the number of school students.

For a long time our minority work has had a leftist ideology which believed that all nationalities would very quickly progress toward "assimilation" so people consequently engaged in "nationality assimilation work." In this way the lack of regard for the special features of each nationality and the lack of respect for the equal rights, right of self governance and the customs and habits of the minority nationality peoples continuously developed. These people took the mistaken theory that "nationality problems actually are class problems" as their guide and seriously broadened the class struggle in the nationality areas. In nationality work this extreme leftist ideology was primarily expressed as Han chauvinism. This was primarily expressed as an attitude of inequality towards minority nationalities prejudice toward and even insults of minority nationality peoples. The lack of respect for the democratic rights and self governance rights of minority nationality peoples, disregard for nationality special features, the lack of respect for the will, customs and habits of minority nationality peoples and the use of enforced commandism. Even today these remaining poisons are very wide-spread and have deep influence among some cadres and even some leadership cadres are seriously afflicted with Han chauvinism. They mistakenly believe that assimilation will be implemented in the future so that to now carry out nationality policies in an "unnecessary action" and mistakenly believe that "the Hui nationality are backward and cannot be trusted ideologically." This cannot but have an effect on the cultivation and selection of Hui nationality cadres and influence the aid and assistance given to economic and cultural construction in the Hui nationality areas. This is the primary reason for the tensions in nationality relationships in the Ningxia area and the main reason why nationality unity has suffered.

After smashing the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress, the Central Committee of the CCP has worked vigorously to implement the work on nationality policy, to gradually restore and develop the relationships of equality, unity, mutual aid and friendship between nationalities. The central task in nationality work in the new period of socialism is to unify all nationalities in the country to realize and struggle for implementation of the four modernizations. In order that all minority nationalities be on an equal economic and cultural footing with the Han nationality in implementing the four modernizations by the end of this century the Party and State should advance in nurturing minority nationality cadres so that each minority nationality will have trained people to manage the internal affairs of the nationalities and carry out economic and cultural construction. Moreover, laws which give ironclad guarantees of the self governance rights of minority nationality areas should be enacted. In terms of economic and cultural construction in the minority nationality areas the state ought to make progress in providing manpower, materials, financial and technological aid. The minority nationalities should also pay attention to overcoming their narrow-mindedness, prevent the occurrence of the mentality of waiting, reliance and making demands, give full vent to the positivism and creativity of socialism and struggle vigorously to transform the backward conditions in their own areas. If these measures are followed I believe that in the minority nationality areas there will be rapid development of the construction of the four modernizations, the historical traces of inequality in nationality affairs will gradually be overcome and eliminated, national unity will be even more secure, and the friendly unity between all nationalities will be reinforced. This is the essence of the nationality problems in the socialist period. Of course, because class struggle still exists and because anti-revolutionary elements and some people with other plans also exist there is still the possibility of using nationality religions and other such problems to destroy or harm national unity. However, this is not the primary contradiction in the nationality areas and it can in no way stop the forward march of the minority nationalities.

#### Eliminate Inequalities Between Nationalities

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Pan Wen [3382 2429] and Liang Youshou [2733 0645 1108] (Zhuang Nationality): "Gradually Eliminate Actual Inequalities Among Nationalities"]

[Text] The essence of minority problems in the new socialist period is the gradual elimination of inequalities among the nationalities, the implementation of socialist modernization and the promotion of nationality participation in prosperity and development.

From the viewpoint of the nature of nationality problems and revolutionary tasks, in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal old China the sources of nationality problems were the systems of nationality repression and

class exploitation. In terms of solving nationality problems in the period of the new democratic revolution, externally there is opposition toward imperialist aggression and repression and the implementation of true independence of the nationalities. Internally there is the overthrow of the Guomindang reactionary dictatorship, elimination of nationality repression and nationality exploitation and implementation of overall nationality equality. China has now entered into a new period of historical developments in which the landlord, rich peasant and capitalist classes no longer exist as such. The nationality problems of this period are not opposing class contradictions but rather are demonstrated as follows: In the minority nationality areas the social production forces have low levels of development, material goods are not abundant and the cultural, educational and scientific affairs are not developed. Gradual transformation of the backward conditions in minority nationality economy, culture, education, science and technology has already become a matter of urgent concern. Because of this, in the new socialist period the central task of minority work is to unite people of all nationalities in vigorously developing the construction of economic and cultural matters in minority nationality areas during the process of implementing socialist modernization, and from a developed production base continuously improve the people's material and cultural livelihood levels and after a long period of striving eliminate the actual inequalities among the nationalities.

In terms of the content of the present nationality problems, the new socialist period is a historical period in which the nationalities will share in prosperity and development. Between 1951 and 1958 Guangxi successively established 196 nationality townships and 8 nationality autonomous counties. Moreover, on the basis of the Guixi Zhuang Nationality Autonomous Prefecture the provincial level Guangxi Zhuang nationality Autonomous District was established and this created prosperous nationality conditions, developed the cultural and economic affairs of the the minority nationalities so that the people of all minorities joined together in a new form of socialist relationships consisting of unity, friendship, equality and mutual aid. However there still were quite a number of nationality problems, such as the incomplete implementation of the right of self governance for nationality areas and the non-implementation of "incremental relaxing" of nationality policies. In some areas the nationality differences were not observed and there was no concern for the special features of the various nationalities. Sometimes there was even incorrect treatment and handling of nationality problems. However, the greatest problem by far was the slow development of the minority nationality economy and the low level of material and cultural livelihood. Upwards of 1.07 million people in Guangxi have not solved the problem of drinking water for themselves and their animals. In some places the people must divide up the water to make it through the year. In Jinxiu Yao Autonomous County there are seven communes but today only one of them is able to go directly by cart to the county seat. Hechi District has three million people but of these over 600,000 are illiterate or are semi-literate. Because of such things



as this it is important right now to make rapid developments in minority nationality economics and from this developed foundation then vigorously promote minority people's cultural and educational matters. This is the only way to gradually eliminate actual inequality.

From the viewpoint of practice and solving minority problems, the main reasons for the backwardness of the Guangxi minority people's economy and culture are: 1. Historically the reactionary dictatorship class implemented a policy of nationality repression and exploitative systems so that the nationalities have inherited an economy and culture which have a poor foundation, an inadequate base and a low starting point. 2. During the ten chaotic years of the "great cultural revolution" under the leadership of the ideology that "nationality problems actually are class problems" all work "followed the outline of class struggle" and in the anti-rightist struggle there was opposition to "local nationality chauvinism" and large-scale promotion of the "production forces-only theory" which resulted in even greater differences. 3. In work there were leadership errors under which the vigorous support and development of minority nationality economic and cultural construction underwent criticism of the the "three theories" ("the theory of conditions," "the theory of special features," and "the theory of backwardness") in which the cities and townships carried out a general "struggle against capitalism and criticism of revisionism" to "cut off the tail of capitalism." There was the lifeless imposition of upper level directives and outside experiences, enforced conformity, arbitrary uniformity and blind leadership with the result that the more "criticism" the poorer, the more "struggle" the more backward and the more "grasping" the more production was decreased. Ever since the overall shift in focus of Party work the Guangxi nationality area has gradually liquidated the remaining poisons and influences of the extreme leftist line, firmly adhered to realistic practices, developed nationality economics and obtained relatively good economic results. At the end of the previous year, the local committee of Hechi honestly summed up its experiences and lessons, suited measures to local conditions, relaxed the policies toward mountain area production brigades, adopted a variform production responsibility system and thus managed to motivate the commune members' enthusiasm for labor. During the first half of this year all ten counties in this district have had increased production with a 10 percent increase in foodgrains over the same period last year. These experiences go a step further in proving that the substance of the nationality problems in the new socialist period is not a question of class struggle but is a question of eliminating the actual inequalities among the nationalities. It is not possible to adopt the method of struggling against an enemy as the only effective method to employ is that of leading the minority nationality areas to develop their economy and culture. At the present time it is especially important to correctly implement throughout the minority nationality areas the Party's nationality policy, completely carry out the right of self governance, implement the policy of resting and building strength and a policy which takes note of special economic features, continue to provide aid in terms of manpower, materials and financing, quickly



develop the minority nationality economy, and hold to the socialist direction of developing minority people's scientific, cultural, educational and physical health conditions to enable all nationalities to share in the prosperity and development.

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Afterword: In the socialist period the essence of the nationality problem is not class struggle. This point is already generally recognized and understood by the majority of our comrades. However, in the discipline of ethnology right now there still are different understandings of what the real essence of the nationality problem is in the socialist period. We have presented here the opinions of a few comrades for everyone to examine and research.

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CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### POPULATION CONTROL IN BEIJING STRESSED

#### Control Over Mechanical Increase

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Nov 80 p 1

[Report: "This Municipality's Mechanical Population Increase Has Already Reached 50,000 This Year: It Is Hoped That an Authoritative Organ Would Be Set Up To Carry Out Uniform Examination and Approval of Cases and Thereby Strictly Control the Personnel Entering Beijing"]

[Text] According to the statistics of concerned departments of this municipality, the population increase which resulted from those moving in being far more numerous than those moving out (simply designated as a mechanical increase) has already reached 50,000 in the city in the first three quarters of this year; it is estimated that the increase in the whole year will reach 60,000. Since 1971, population moving into the city has exceeded those moving out for 10 consecutive years, with a net cumulated increase of 520,000. If this increase should follow the present figure of 60,000 each year from now on, the portion of the population resulting from such mechanical increase alone would bring the total population of the city beyond 10,000,000.

Beijing is the capital of the motherland; its political status and economic and cultural conditions are very attractive. It is the wish of many organs, entrepreneurial units and public institutions to be established in Beijing, and it is also the wish of many people to live in Beijing: this is altogether understandable. But, considering the present state and future prospect of the construction of Beijing Municipality, it is impossible for the city to accommodate too large a population; the population moving into the city must be subject to strict control. For instance, in the case of certain main offices with nationwide jurisdiction, it is entirely unnecessary for them to be established in Beijing; because, once they are established in Beijing, it is inevitable that not a few people would be moving in. In the case of a certain small number of people who move into the capital without sufficient reasons but merely on account of the private relations they can strike up and the back doors they can enter, control should be even more imperative.

Apart from this, there are also not a few among those who according to regulations should move out but who did not. According to calculation by relevant departments,

those personnel who are supposed to have been transferred out of Beijing but who have not moved out their households already number some 25,000, and among these belonging to the central units alone number more than 20,000. When a given individual is transferred, his family members should according to regulations also move out with him; but not a few such family members have apparently refrained from moving out. For example, 19 units of a certain system have been moved out, but family members remaining behind in the capital number 1,200.

One of the important reasons creating such an excessive mechanical population increase is that there is no organ exercising uniform control over the people moving in. It is understood that there are as many as 200 or more central and municipal units which are authorized to approve people from outside areas moving into the capital. But there is not a single principal organ to supervise the moving of those who according to regulations should move out. People hope that the Party Central Committee, Government and Army organs and Beijing Municipality would together organize an authoritative institution to control the personnel scheduled to move into the capital. This institution should also have the power to adjust surplus and needed personnel between various departments.

#### Effective Control of Growth

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by Yang Naichao [2799 0035 6389] and Zhang Baocheng [1728 1405 6134] of the Municipal Statistics Bureau: "Effectively Control the Growth of Beijing Population"]

[Text] In its proposal on the orientation of work to this municipality, the Central Secretariat has suggested: "From now on, Beijing's population should at no time exceed 10 million." Looking at the present population situation and its tendency of development in the next 20 years, we can see that it is going to be a formidable task to realize this strategic target; it would be necessary to adopt effective and forceful measures to keep population growth under control.

Population growth includes both natural growth and mechanical increase (when the population moving in is larger than the population moving out). From now on the point of emphasis on controlling natural population growth should be placed in the countryside, but the cities should not be neglected; the point of emphasis on controlling mechanical population increase should be placed in the cities, but the countryside should not be neglected. Whether we are going to control natural population growth or mechanical population increase, we should always insist on the combination of ideological education and policy measures and secure a legislative basis. We should also control as early as possible and as strictly as possible.

First, we must assure people that they will be well provided for when they get old.

In Beijing we must penetratingly and repeatedly propagate the Party Central Committee's call to energetically promote the practice of each couple raising

only one child. Our present measures are still not good and effective enough; they still cannot make people really see the moving reality and actual prospect that when they get old, they will be well provided for and well looked after, so that it is of particular advantage to give birth to more than one child. Therefore, we should further adopt certain concrete measures. For instance, we must both solve the question of economic resources in assuring people that they will be well provided for when they get old, but also solve the question of making practical arrangements in assuring people that they will be well looked after when they get old, so that the old people who are childless or who have only one child will in fact live in peace in their old age, and so that their lingering desire to "raise children to support them in old age" may be done away with. This is especially important in the countryside. For this reason, along with our attempt to develop production and to energetically improve the people's living conditions, we must at the same time develop medical and health services, welfare facilities, social security and livelihood services, etc., and also gradually set up services in the cities and countryside especially to look after the families of old people. Also, in the case of single-child, dual-sibling, and multiple-sibling families, we should prescribe some differentiated measures of treatment. When multiple siblings go to school, we may ask them to bear their own costs (in the case of superior students, scholarships may be awarded to them); when workers are recruited or jobs are assigned, a single child may be given priority or assigned to the city or a unit closer to his home, dual siblings may be assigned to the city insofar as possible, whereas not more than two of multiple siblings may be assigned to the city; the aforesaid worker-recruitment or job-assignment principles should also be followed when personnel within the city are to be exported; we may also raise the rental rate of the extra housing required by city dwellers because of their multiple children, and collect a fee on the extra residential lot required by commune members in the countryside because of their multiple children; etc.

Besides, in propagating and carrying out the Marriage Law, we must also energetically advocate late marriage and do a good job in the planning for late procreation so as to prevent an unusual peak in population birth rate in the next few years because of a particularly large population of people of the marrying age or because of mass weddings.

Second, we must strictly control the people moving in.

The scale of Beijing's mechanical population increase is still too big; to keep this under strict control is already an urgent task. In summing up experience of the past, adoptable measures appear to be the following: 1) Let the Party Central Committee, Government and Army organs and Beijing Municipality jointly organize and set up an authoritative institution to control the personnel moving into the capital, prescribe conditions by which personnel may move into the capital, and take charge of the uniform examination and approval of their cases, and also have the power to adjust surplus and needed personnel between various departments. 2) Adopt the method of combining politics with economics and carry out the principle of making those scheduled to move out equivalent to those scheduled to move in. In the case of an organ or unit which has a surplus of personnel on hand but must at the same time bring in certain personnel from outside areas because of needs in its work, the method of making the number of persons brought in equivalent to the number of persons transferred out; if the number of persons brought in is



greater than the number of persons transferred out, then urban construction fees may be collected from the organ or unit bringing in those persons according to the differential. Those personnel being transferred out must immediately move their households away, and their families must move with them according to regulations; in case of refusal to move, the collection of urban construction fees from the parties involved may also be considered. 3) It is also necessary to exercise strict control over the agricultural population moving into the municipality. 4) Strictly enforce law and discipline in order to check devious practices in allowing people to move in. In case people are found to have moved in without following legitimate procedures, after pertinent investigation they should be returned to where they came from. In a word, it is a big matter to exercise control over the people moving in; when necessary, the legislative approach may also be adopted.

Third, we must consider the exportation of some of the population. If organization tightening is combined with system reform, some units among the central organs, in particular, should be able to transfer away a contingent of personnel; when our municipality and sister provinces and cities run joint enterprises, it is also possible to transfer away some personnel. But, the exportation of common laborers is unlikely to be welcomed by various localities; the best thing to do is to energetically run some middle, professional, technical schools to train special talents, who can thus be either employed by the city itself or exported elsewhere.

Fourth, strengthen population control. In the case of the transient population residing in the immediate outskirts of the city on a long-range basis, pertinent solution and compression should be attempted. In the case of agricultural population being converted to urban population, there must be clear regulations; control must be uniformly and strictly enforced. In the case of the population residing outside the urban area but wishing to move into the urban area, pertinent control must also be exercised, and some measures that would serve to facilitate the dispersion of the population in the urban area should also be adopted in order to gradually reduce the density of the population in the urban area.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### ONE MARRIED COUPLE, ONE CHILD SEEN AS NECESSITY

Guangzhou ZHONGSHAN DAXUE XUEBAO--ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN [ZHONGSAN UNIVERSITY JOURNAL--PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION] in Chinese No 4, 1980 pp 1-11  
Quarterly

[Article by Zhu Yuncheng [2612 0061 2052]: "The Importance and Urgency of Promoting the Policy of One Child for Every Married Couple in Our Country as Viewed From the Trend of Population Development"]

[Text] The population problem is a big problem watched by the whole world today; whether an economically developed country or a developing country, without exception, great attention is paid to its population problem. At present, we have a population of 970 million (not including the brethren in Taiwan and the brethren overseas), which makes up more than one-fifth of the world's total population. Swift control of our population increase is of great strategic meaning to the speedy realization of our four modernizations and the promotion of the health and well-being of the whole nation. Right now, the focus of our population policy is to promote the practice of every married couple having only one child. Why must we do this? This should be viewed in conjunction with the trend of population development throughout the country.

#### Characteristics of the Population Reproduction Process and Forecast of the Trend of Population Development

The so-called population reproduction process is namely the process through which every population passes in terms of birth, growth, and death. This is a dynamic process in which some persons are born or die every moment, and which goes on indefinitely. There are the following three conspicuous characteristics of the population reproduction process:

First, the cycle of generational renewal of population reproduction is rather long. It usually takes several decades for every individual to pass from birth to death. According to relevant calculation, the average length of life of our population is 68 years; that is to say, it takes an average of 68 years for one generation to replace another in our country.

Second, the adjustment and control of the process of population reproduction must take place before the process of every individual's reproduction, i.e., before the birth of every individual, and not possibly afterward. After an individual is born, society has the obligation to maintain him and raise him and adopt various health preservation measures to prolong that individual's life.

Third, there is a particular characteristic of continuity in the case of the population reproduction process--multiplication from generation to generation. This particular continuity of the population reproduction process--multiplication from generation to generation--is reflected in the fact that in the entire process of birth, growth and death on the part of the first generation, it generally is bound to enter into the stages of marriage and procreation, i.e., to begin the process of multiplying the next generation. The first generation of the population is also the foundation and premise of the reproduction of the second generation, and it is also likely to last until the third generation. An extremely small number of individuals of the first generation can survive until the birth of the fourth generation.

To study these three characteristics of the population reproduction process is of great importance to our conduct of birth control work. In order to see things far ahead, grasp matters early and grasp them consecutively, we must also look ahead and look backward, and closely unite the birth control policies and plans we formulate with our research work on the forecast of the trend of population development.

The so-called forecast of the trend of population development is to carry out scientific analysis, research and estimation in respect to situations of population change and general trend of change in a given future period in a country or area. It must be carried out under a definite set of hypothetical premises, and it is hence of a more strictly scientific and stable nature. In the past, this aspect of work has received only scant attention; one of the important reasons for this was that there was insufficient understanding of the important role of population forecast. Apart from this, it also had to do to a certain extent with such causes as relative difficulty in the gathering of basic data and relative backwardness in respect to forecasting methods and instruments of calculation. Even though in some areas some population forecasting work was done, the forecast periods were relatively short; under usual circumstances, the forecast was made only for the next 5 years, 10 years, and the trend of population development was seldom predicted for 20 years or a longer period. After World War II, because of the rapid development of computer technology, mathematical models and advanced computers have long been applied to population forecast abroad; the development in this regard has been especially fast during the past 20 years. When modern computers are used in forecasting the trend of population development, not only is the speed of calculation faster and the calculating process itself simpler, but the results of calculation are also more accurate. Domestically, not until last year did Beijing's expert on control theory, Song Jian [1345 0256], and engineers like Comrades Li Guangyuan [2621 1684 0337] and Yu Jingyuan [0060 2529 0337] absorb the results of research abroad, formulate new mathematical models, use advanced computers, and make multiple-schemed long-range forecasts about the trend in our population increase. The results of their forecast were introduced at the Second National Population Theory Symposium convened in Changdu last year; they attracted everybody's attention and were very well received.

# The Importance of Promoting a Policy of One Child for Every Married Couple as Viewed From the Trend of the Country's Population Development

Let us first of all look at the results of the 5 schemes of forecast Comrades Song Jian, Li Guangyuan and others have made about the trend of the nation's population development, as seen in the following table:<sup>1</sup>

Forecast- ing scheme	Average birthrate of each married couple <sup>2</sup>	Population figure reached in the forecast year (Unit: 100 million)			
		2000		2080	
		Population figure reached	Number of increase over 1979	Population figure reached	Number of increase over 1979
Number	No. children				
1	3	14.14	4.44	42.64	32.94
2	2.3	12.82	3.12	21.19	11.49
3	2	12.17	2.47	14.72	5.02
4	1.5	11.25	1.55	7.77	-1.93
5	1 <sup>3</sup>	10.50	0.80	3.70	-6.0

## Notes

1. None of the population figures forecast in this table includes the population figures of Taiwan or overseas Chinese.
2. Except as specified in Note 3 below, in the forecasting of the birth rates of the other schemes it is all presumed that from 1979 on the birth rate in the given scheme is maintained without variation.
3. It is presumed in this case that from now (1979) on the birth rate is to decrease each year until it reaches the average of 1 for each married couple in 1985, and is maintained at that level thereafter. Source of

Source of data: Song Jian, Tian Xueyuan [3944 7185 0626], Li Guangyuan, and Yu Jingyuan: "On the Question of Goals for Our Population Development," in RENMIN RIBAO, 7 March 1980.

Among the forecast results of the 5 different schemes listed in the above table, particularly worthy of our attention are the results of population increase at the two junctures of the end of the year 2000 and the end of 2080.

First, at the end of 2000, the country's population will have 5 different quantities of increase according to different birth rates: if the rate is increased back to 3 children [for each married couple], i.e., an equivalent to the country's 1975 average birth rate, the country will reach 1.414 billion, more than



444 million [sic] more than the present. Although this trend of population increase does not tally with the country's present state of birth rate, it should be pointed out that, if we relax our birth control work, then by the end of the year 2000 it is not only easy for the country's population to reach this increase figure but even to exceed it. As we look back, in 1950 our population stood at 540 million; by 1969, it already reached 800 million, with a net increase of 260 million in 20 years. This was a result of allowing blind increases in the country's population in the 1950's and 1960's. Because the base figure of our population was relatively small, and the death rate was also higher than it is now, so the net increase was limited to 260 million. With 970 million as our base figure from now on, if the average yearly population increase rate of 2.4 percent in the 1950's and 1960's is kept up, then the rough calculation from the present to the year 2000 will result in a net increase of 480 million in the country's population, and not 444 million. If the rate of 2.3 children for each married couple is maintained, i.e., at the level equivalent to that of 1978 throughout the country, then by the year 2000 the country's population will reach 1.282 billion, with an increase of 312 million over that of 1979. If rates of 2 children and 1.5 children for each married couple are maintained respectively, then by the year 2000 there will be increases of 247 million and 155 million respectively over the present. If the birth rate is reduced each year from now on, and by the year 1985 and from then on the rate of 1 child for each married couple is maintained, then the increase by the year 2000 will be only 80 million over the figure at the end of 1979. This result would be more ideal.

Second, from the population increase results forecast for 100 years after (i.e., by the year 2080), we can see that if each married couple gives birth to the averages of 3 and 2.3 children respectively, then the country's population figures will reach 4.264 billion (equivalent to the total population figure of the whole world) and 2.119 billion respectively, with increases of 329.4 million and 114.9 million over the figure of the country's population at the end of 1979 respectively. This would lead to a malignant inflation of the population. If the birth rate turns out to be 2 for each married couple, then by the year 2080 the nation will increase still another 502 million. If the birth rates are 1.5 and 1 respectively, after 100 years the phenomenon of great reduction will appear in the country's population, which will be 193 million and 600 million less than the present respectively. Obviously, if the rate of only 1 child is maintained till 2080, hence causing an excessive reduction of the country's population, that would also be not so desirable. If we wish to maintain the present population figure without change, we should from the year 2000 on gradually adjust the birth rate for each married couple down to somewhere between 1.5 and 2 (most preferably at the rate of about 1.7); that would be more appropriate. But, before the year 2000, we must enforce the policy of letting each married couple give birth only to 1 child; only thus can we avoid excessively rapid population increase.

In the above, we have introduced the 5 different trends of the country's population increase. Then, what will be the shape of the trend of population increase in Guangdong Province? In May this year, we took over the tasks of the provincial birth control office and cooperated with Comrade He Dinghai [0149 0002 3189] of

the computing center at Zhongshan University to forecast the 5 trends of Guangdong's population development in the next 100 years. The results are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Fore-casting scheme	Average birthrate of each married couple	Population figure reached in the forecast year			
		(Unit: 10,000)			
		2000		2080	
Number	No.children	Number of persons	Increase in Population figure over 1979	Number of persons	Increase in Population figure over 1979
1	3	8356	2675	21838	16157
2	2.3	7606	1925	10648	4967
3	2 <sup>2</sup>	7278	1597	7253	1572
4	1.5	6678	997	3326	-2355
5	1 <sup>3</sup>	6078	397	1166	-4515

Notes:

1. The underlying assumption is that from 1980 on each married couple follows its particular birth rate and maintains it without variation.
2. When forecasts are made on the rates of 2 children and 3 children, respectively, each later birth is presumed to have followed after an interval of 4 years; other conditions are the same as those indicated in Note 3 below.
3. When the forecast is made on the rate of 1 child, it is all assumed that a female begins to get married after her 23rd birthday, and all such mature females are married within 4 years. Each married female, in turn, gives birth to her first child within 4 years of her marriage.

Among the estimated results listed above, particularly worthy of our attention is the trend of population development based on the rate of 3 children; it comes very close to the 1979 average birth rate for each married couple in our province. At present, birth control work in our province lags far behind the rest of the country. According to available statistics, the natural population increase rate of the whole country has already decreased to 11.66 per 1,000, but this same increase rate in our province still remained at the height of 16.96 per 1,000, which represented a retreat to the 26th rank in the country; compared to the advanced provinces and municipalities, there was a very big gap. The increase rate of Shanghai Municipality was 6.23 per 1,000; that of Sichuan, 6.06 per 1,000. If we still fail to grasp birth control energetically and continually, and let the whole province maintain its present high level of procreation rate and develop it forward in a sustained way, by the year 2000

the population of the whole province may increase to 83.56 million, i.e., with a gain of 47 percent over the figure at the end of 1979, and by the year 2080 it will increase to 218.38 million. If we can realize the rate of 1 child from now on, then by the year 2000 the increase will be only 3.97 million. It should be pointed out here as a matter of convenience that, when the forecast results of the five trends of population increase in the whole province are compared to similar schemes forecast in the rest of the country, because the age structure, death rate, sex ratio and other factors in our province are different from those of the rest of the country, its population increase ratio appears also to be somewhat different; but the overall trend of population increase is consistent.

As for where the Guangzhou area's trend of population increase in the next 100 years is headed, because no special forecasts have been made, let us infer the trends of the 5 schemes of population development by using the relevant ratio from the forecast results of the whole province, as tabulated in the following:

Fore-casting scheme	Average birthrate of each married couple	Population figure reached in the forecast year (Unit: 10,000)			
		2000		2080	
Number	No. children	Number of persons	Increase in Population fig- ure over 1979	Number of persons	Increase in Population fig- ure over 1979
1	3	787	252	2057	1522
2	2.3	716	181	1003	468
3	2	685	150	683	148
4	1.5	629	90	313	-222
5	1	572	37	110	-425

Because there are now 5.35 million people in Guangzhou Municipality, who make up 9.42 percent of the total population of the province, it generally accords with actuality to infer Guangzhou Municipality's population development trend by way of the whole province's population increase trend. Of course, because the age structure, sex ratio and death rate and factors of the like in Guangzhou Municipality are different from those in the whole province, a strict calculation would derive slightly different results from the inferred results above; but the difference is not great.

Among the forecast results of the trend of population development in the Guangzhou area, particularly worthy of our attention is the trend of population development based on the rate of two children. Because in the past Guangzhou Municipality's natural growth rate was 11.87 per 1,000, which was slightly higher than that of the whole country, the average birth rate for each married couple in the Guangzhou area was about 2.3 children according to this rough

estimate. Therefore, the trend of population development based on the rate of 2.3 children may be taken as the trend of population development that is bound to emerge if it is presumed from now on to continue to maintain the level of its present birth rate. From the above table, we can see that if the birth rate of 2.3 children is always maintained, by the year 2000 population of the Guangzhou area will increase to 7.16 million, with a net increase of 1.81 million over the figure of 1979; and by the year 2080 population figure of the Guangzhou area will break through 10 million, resulting in almost a 100 percent increase over its present population figure. If we can achieve a reduction of the birth rate to 1 child this year, then by the year 2000 the net increase would be only 370,000; that is to say, the population increase would approximate a fair stage. But, up to the end of last year, birth control work in the Guangzhou area still lagged behind certain sister cities in the country. For instance, according to the statistics compiled at the end of last year the percentages of 1 child rate achieved in certain cities of the country were as follows: Chengdu Municipality, 93 percent; Chongqing Municipality, 91.2 percent; Tianjin Municipality, 80 percent; Beijing Municipality, 80 percent; Shanghai Municipality, 51.9 percent; whereas in the Guangzhou area the percentage achieved was only 16 percent, and in the case of 6 counties and one outlying area, the percentage of such 1 child rate was even lower, with those giving birth to 3 children still reaching 21 percent. If this multiple-birth tendency is not quickly reversed by the adoption of effective measures, the natural population increase rate in the Guangzhou area is likely to grow back to 13 per 1,000 and above (possibly over 19 per 1,000 in the countryside).

Why, at the present stage (from now until about the year 2000), can we only afford to select "Scheme No 5," i.e., to allow only 1 child for each married couple? Its importance is seen in the following three aspects:

First, it is beneficial to the acceleration of accumulation of capital for the construction of the four modernizations. If we want to construct the four modernizations, we must have capital, technology, and talents, and among these the accumulation of capital is the key. Because, in order to expand reproduction, in order to handle new capital construction, build new factories, open up large farms, import necessary equipment, or engage in renovation and tapping of potential resources in existing enterprises, capital is needed in each case. According to our present level of consumption, the expenses for raising 1 child (from pregnancy, birth, to nurturing till the age of 16) are 6,900 yuan in large and medium cities, 4,800 yuan in cities and townships, and 1,600 yuan in the countryside. Calculated according to these criteria, the nurturing expenses for the increased population that must be spent on the basis of the five different schemes of forecasting the trend of population development can be seen in the following table:



Number of Fore-casting Scheme	Average birth rate for each married couple No. children	Whole Country		Guangzhou Province		Guangzhou Area	
		Increase in population figure over 1979	Nurturing expenses that must be spent (100 million yuan)	Increase in population figure over 1979	Nurturing expenses that must be spent (100 million yuan)	Increase in population figure over 1979	Nurturing expenses that must be spent (100 million yuan)
1	3	44400	9768	2675	588.5	252	110.88
2	2.3	31200	6864	1925	423.5	181	79.64
3	2	24700	5434	1597	351.34	150	66
4	1.5	15500	3410	997	219.34	90	39.6
5	1	8000	1760	397	87.34	37	16.28

Explanation: This table is calculated on the basis of an average of 2,200 yuan in nurturing expenses for every person in the country and in Guangdong Province, and of 4,400 yuan in the Guangzhou area.

From the above table, we can see that if we reduce the present birth rate (2.3 in the country and the Guangzhou area, 3 in Guangdong Province) to 1, the amounts of nurturing expenses saved are: the whole country, 510.4 billion yuan; the whole province, 50.116 billion yuan; the Guangzhou area, 6.636 billion yuan. If the rate of 30 percent of these expenses is undertaken by the state, then the capital funds accumulated for the four modernizations would be: for the whole country, 153.12 billion yuan; for the whole province, 15.03 billion yuan; for the Guangzhou area, 1.9 billion yuan. If these capital funds are used to import modern vinylon factories (with the investment needed by each factory estimated at 1 billion yuan), then the whole country can import 153 factories; Guangdong Province, 15 factories; and the Guangzhou area, 2 factories. If these capital funds are used as investment in the building of 50,000-ton synthetic ammonia factories (estimated at 54 million yuan of investment to each factory), then the whole country can build 2,835 factories; Guangdong Province, 278 factories; and the Guangzhou area, 35 factories. And once these factories are built, they can satisfy the needs in agricultural production and the people's livelihood, and they can also further accumulate capital for the realization of our four modernizations.

Second, it is beneficial to the solution of contradictions between large population, scarce land, and high pressure of food grain needs. One of the characteristics of our natural environment is that the mountainous areas composed of mountains, hills and rather rugged plateaus are particularly large, making up two-thirds of the country's total area; apart from these, there is also a large desert. Such disadvantageous terrain conditions serve to limit the expansion of our arable land area, resulting in the fact that our arable land area makes up

only 10 percent of the country's total land area. The amount of existing reclaimable virgin land is also limited; it is estimated at merely over 300 million mu, and it is also scattered mainly in the northeastern and northwestern regions, the population is sparse and weather conditions leave much to be desired, and hence reclaiming such virgin land in these regions would require considerable investment but yield scant results. Since liberation, we have mainly relied on improving individual unit production in basically solving the food problem for our 900 million population. During these past 30 years, because arable land became continually less and less while the population rapidly grew more and more, the pressure of foodgrain needs has been very great. According to statistics, during the 20 years from 1957 to 1977 our foodgrain increased 45 percent, but our population increased 46 percent, with the average foodgrain for each person thus slightly reduced. Because of the fact that the potential of our arable land expansion is limited by an objective geographical environment, no conspicuous change is likely to take place in a rather long period of time to come; in addition, along with the development of the construction of the four modernizations, the building of factories, mines, towns, countryside residential areas, roads, and water conservancy facilities will also encroach upon part of the arable land. Even if we continue to invest in the energetic reclaiming of virgin land, it will be still rather hard to maintain 1.49 billion mu of arable land by the year 2000. At present, our technological level in agriculture is still very low; natural calamities are also rather frequent; the margin for improving individual unit production of foodgrain each year cannot be very great. Under such circumstances, our attempt to solve the foodgrain problem will always face difficulties. Even if we can guarantee the progressive yearly average increase of 19 billion jin of foodgrain throughout the country from now on, the average amount of foodgrain possessed by each person is still less than that in many other countries of the world. According to 1976 statistics, each person possessed an average of 614 jin of foodgrain in our country, which was equivalent to only 22.3 percent in the United States (2,750 jin per person), 46.6 percent in France (1,262 jin per person). To solve our problem of scarce arable land and scant foodgrain production is a strategic question of profound significance. In order to solve this problem, we can only anchor our effort in our own strength and cannot hope to get by just by importing foodgrain. From now on, apart from continuing to invest in the reclaiming of virgin land, protecting existing arable land, improving land utilization rate, and improving individual unit foodgrain production, we must also reduce the speed of our population increase and energetically promote the one child birth rate. Only thus can we hope to mollify the contradictions between large population, scarce arable land, and great foodgrain pressure. The following table forecasts the trends of change in the relationship between population development in the country and in Guangdong Province by the year 2000, average arable land for each person, and average amount of foodgrain for each person:

Number of fore-casting scheme	Average birth rate for each married couple	Whole Country			Guangdong Province		
		Population figure reached (100 million persons)	Average arable land (mu per person)	Average amount of foodgrain for each person each year (jin per person)	Population figure reached (100 million persons)	Average arable land (mu per person)	Average amount of foodgrain for each person each year (jin per person)
	No. of children						
1	3	14.14	1.05	618	8356	0.576	590
2	2.3	12.82	1.16	682	7606	0.635	648
3	2	12.17	1.22	718	7278	0.663	677
4	1.5	11.25	1.32	777	6678	0.723	738
5	1	10.50	1.42	833	6078	0.794	810

**Explanations:**

1. The average arable land for each person is calculated on the assumption that by the year 2000 the country's arable land can be maintained at 1.49 billion mu, and Guangdong's can also be stabilized at 48.27 million mu without change.
2. The average amount of foodgrain for each person is calculated according to the rather conservative estimation that the whole country would have a progressive yearly production increase of 10 billion jin; Guangdong's progressive yearly production increase is assumed to be 700 jin.

From the above table, we can see that an energetic promotion of the practice of each married couple giving birth only to one child is the most effective measure to check the continued reduction of average arable land for each person and average amount of foodgrain for each person each year in the country and in our province. At present, the average arable land for each person in Guangdong is less than that in the whole country; it stands at only 0.85 mu; foodgrain pressure is also greater than that in the whole country, as each person each year has an average amount of foodgrain of 630 jin in the whole country, but each person in Guangdong has only 608 jin. In a part of Guangdong's districts, such as the Shantou district, population density is very high; during the 30 years since liberation, because of rapid population increase average arable land for each person has already been reduced from 0.98 mu to 0.52 mu in 1978; in Chaoan County the average is only 0.44 mu. This is a solemn lesson from the fact that in the past we have failed to grasp the planned development of our population. If we continue to fail to energetically grasp birth control, then other districts, including Guangdong Province's granary--the Fushan district

today-- are also likely to become the Shantou district today after some 20 years. This estimation is by no means excessive.

Third, it is beneficial to mitigating the contradiction of incongruity between population and resources from now on. Resources are the foundation for economic development. Whether or not there is a potential abundance of resources is often used as an important indicator in the measurement of a country's developmental potential. Our country has always been reputed to be "vast in territory and abundant in resources"; but if this is viewed in conjunction with "large population," then we cannot be so optimistic. Resources may be divided into two categories: one category consists of recoverable resources, which are inexhaustible and which can be regenerated, such as hydraulic power resources, forest resources, etc. The other category consists of unrecoverable resources, such as coal, iron, petroleum and other mineral products, which cannot be "regenerated" once consumed.

Even though from an overall view our resources can be said to be abundant, and some resources also occupy foremost ranks in the world, such as hydraulic power, coal and certain metal minerals, our forest and land resources are nonetheless not very abundant and, when averaged among the population, they are below the world level. A comparison between our per-person average agricultural, forest, and water resources and the world averages is seen in the following table:

Categories	World average	Our country
Forest land	15 mu/person	1.8 mu/person
Lumber deposits	23 cubic meter/ person	9 cubic meter/ person
Prairie	11 mu/person	5.3 mu/person
Land for agricultural use	32 mu/person	7.69 mu/person
Fresh water	11000 cubic meter/ person	2700 cubic meter/ person

From the above table we can see that our agricultural, forest and water resources calculated in per-person averages are far lower than the world averages, and our forestry is especially backward; our fresh water resources are also not very abundant and in our northern regions and northwestern regions in particular, insufficient water resources still constitute a serious problem--in some regions not only water supply for agricultural use faces difficulties but even water supplies for industrial and urban use also fall short.

In the case of our industrial power resources, except hydraulic power and coal resources whose deposits are relatively abundant, other power resources, especially amounts of even distribution based on the total population, are also limited, and the quality of some of them is also not very high. This is not only a realistic problem which lies in front of us, but, looked upon from the



long-range point of view, this problem will become even more salient. Because, along with the gradual realization of the four modernizations and along with the gradual improvement of the people's livelihood, the quantity of our consumption of these resources will also become greater and greater. If we fail to control population increase, this contradiction will from now on likewise become more and more acute. Hereafter, in order to improve the situation with our resources, apart from a series of measures designed to protect and save our resources, actively develop new sources of energy, and strengthen the comprehensive utilization of our resources, energetic control of population increase aiming at mitigating the pressure exerted on resources by population is also an important measure.

The population density in our province is rather high, and the resources are also rather poor; in particular, the serious insufficiency of power resources does not adapt to the development of our industrial and agricultural production. In the vast countryside, fuel shortage has already constituted a big problem, as coal for industrial use has to be imported each year from the north. If we let the population in our province continue to increase rapidly, then the contradiction between large population and insufficient resources will be more acute than other regions of the country. Therefore, we should place emphasis on this problem as early as possible.

#### The Urgency of Promoting the Practice of Giving Birth to Only One Child as Seen From the Forecast of the Trends of the Country's Population Development

In the foregoing, we have sought to explain the importance of selecting the 5th scheme--the scheme based on the birth rate of one child from the five trends of population development in the country, the province, and the Guangzhou area hereafter. But, some people have also put forward the question as to whether we should be so anxious. These comrades mainly lack sufficient perception of the urgency in promoting the practice of giving birth to only one child. Viewed from the trend of the country's population development, the urgency in promoting the practice of giving birth to only one child consists of the following four points:

First, the age structure of our existing population is very young; the proportion of forthcoming persons of child-bearing age is very great; such a situation urgently requires us to check the current trend of continued rapid population increase. Viewed from the country's present population age structure, those below the age of 15 make up 38.6 percent of the total population, whereas in the world's developed countries they make up only 25 percent on the average, in the United States and France only 24 percent, and in Britain only 23 percent. The fact that the age structure of our existing population is very young is a result engendered by the rapid population increase of the past; at the same time, it is also the basis of population increase in a future period (prior to the year 2000). It determines the fact that during the next 20 years marrying couples will be numerous and the proportion of women reaching the child-bearing age will be very great. The increase and changing situation in the number of our women of child-bearing age in the next 20 years can be seen in the following table:

Year	Equivalent to 1980 percentage	Year	Equivalent to 1980 percentage	Year	Equivalent to 1980 percentage
1980	100	1987	133	1994	118
1981	87	1988	123	1995	108
1982	70	1989	120	1996	88
1983	79	1990	136	1997	85
1984	130	1991	130	1998	96
1985	158	1992	134	1999	90
1986	135	1993	126	2000	90

Source: Liu Zeng [0491 6927]: "March Toward the Zero Rate of Natural Population Increase," in "Collected Essays on Population Problems" (SICHUAN DAXUE XUEBAO CONGKAN [Reprints Series of SICHUAN UNIVERSITY JOURNAL], 3rd Collection, 1979).

The above table illustrates that the proportion of women reaching the marrying and childbearing age between 1984 and 1995 is very great, far exceeding that of 1980. In terms of absolute number, each year in that period exceeds 10 million. Even if each couple gives birth to only 1 child, the children born in 1 year will still exceed 10 million. If birth is given to 2 children, the number will be more than 20 million. It is not hard to see that in an ensuing period, because the second procreation peak since liberation emerged in the country after 1963, another procreation peak will result between 1984 and 1994. If we do not energetically promote the practice of giving birth to only one child, it would be impossible for us to check and eradicate this forthcoming procreation peak. If we cannot check it during this period, it will again emerge in the beginning of the 21st century; this is going to be a serious aftermath.

Speaking of Guangdong, its situation is roughly the same as the rest of the country; but there are three noteworthy characteristics: (1) The second procreation peak that emerged in the whole country in the 1960's emerged 1 year earlier in Guangdong (in the whole country in 1963, in Guangdong in 1962); (2) in the sex ratio of Guangdong's population, the proportion of women is 0.17 percent higher than that of the whole country; and (3) death rate is lower than that of the whole country: for instance, it was 2.96 per 1,000 lower in 1959, 3.66 per 1,000 lower in 1961, 2.13 per 1,000 lower in 1969, 1.82 per 1,000 lower in 1971, and 0.71 per 1,000 lower in 1979. Therefore, the number of women reaching the marrying and childbearing age in Guangdong in the next 20 years will be great. Except in certain individual years, the number in each year will be more than 500,000, and the greatest will exceed 700,000. As a result, the population increase rate is going to be faster than that of the whole country.

In Guangzhou Municipality (excluding the 6 outlying counties), females make up 51.38 percent of the total population, which is 2.41 percent higher than that in the whole province; population death rate is 0.03 per 1,000 lower than that in the whole province (1979). The procreation peaks of the 1950's and 1960's were almost joined together, and even in the 3 difficult years from 1959 to 1961, Guangzhou Municipality's population birth rate was still higher than 20 per 1,000. After 1964, because birth control was grasped and very great results were achieved, the proportion of population below the age of 16 made up only 25.4 percent of the total, a percentage far lower than the level of the whole country and the whole province. But because the numbers of mechanical population increase since 1975 have been very great, and among them the increases of youths between the ages of 21 and 30 were most numerous, making up 46 percent of the total increases, this situation brought great pressure of increase to Guangzhou Municipality's population, and this kind of pressure is going to remain great before 1985. If we do not energetically promote the practice of giving birth to only one child, it would be very difficult to check this increase momentum.

Second, our present employment pressure is very great; the increase of forthcoming potential producers is very fast: this situation urgently requires us to check the excessive increase of labor power. Because the birth rate of our population in the 1950's was high, the number of births was great, averaging about 18 million each year. This part of the population was one of the important reasons contributing to the great pressure on our arrangement for labor employment. And the fact that the birth rate in the 1960's was also high and the number of births was great, averaging about 18 million each year, is again going to be one of the important reasons contributing to the great pressure on our arrangement for labor employment in the next 20 years. Our present failure to promote the practice of giving birth to only one child will in turn contribute to the pressure on labor employment in the beginning of the 21st century.

The experience of the world's developed countries indicates that, along with the realization of the four modernizations, the labor power needed is bound to decrease relatively. For instance, the Kimitsu Steel Works of Japan has an annual productive capacity of more than 10 million tons, but it has only slightly more than 10,000 staff and workers; a certain steel works of Guangdong has an annual productive capacity of only slightly more than 100,000 tons, but it has more than 9,000 staff and workers. When averaged, the difference between the labor productivity of a worker in one works and a worker in the other is very great. In the United States an agricultural laborer can produce more than 146,000 jin of crops each year; but in our country, one can only produce 2,000 jin. The fundamental way to improve labor productivity is to renovate production technology and, first of all, to renovate technical equipment; but the renovation of technical equipment requires large sums of capital. At present, the investment expenses in technical equipment for a worker in the country are about 10,000 yuan; in the United States each manufacturing worker's expenses in technical equipment are U.S.\$55,000 (convertible into 82,500 yuan in People's Currency). In our country, technical equipment expenses for each agricultural laborer are about 300 yuan, but the national average of investment in technical equipment for each agricultural worker in the United States comes to U.S.\$98,000.

(convertible into about 147,000 yuan in People's Currency). Along with the gradual realization of the construction of our four modernizations, the investment required of the state in placing a laborer in employment is becoming greater and greater. At the same time, because of technological advancement a large contingent of laborers can also be spared from the existing production posts. Thus, not only is the pressure for placing existing unemployed personnel in employment very great at present, but if we fail to energetically control population increase, the pressure for employment from now on will become even greater. From this, we can see that our effort to energetically promote the practice of giving birth to only one child today is not only beneficial to solving the problem of employment for the present unemployed personnel, but also creates beneficial conditions for solving the problem of employment for new laborers from now on. Because of the fact that if the laboring individuals who are to come of relevant age from now on are to become real producers, they must expect society to provide them with sufficient labor means and labor objects, and also the fact that what the construction of our four modernizations requires of labor forces from now on is not the solving of the quantitative question of insufficiency but an exerted effort to solve the qualitative question of inadequacy, if we fail to satisfy these two conditions, then these forthcoming laboring individuals of relevant age will remain in a definite period incapable of becoming laborers creating material wealth for society for the time being, and must rely on society to continue to shoulder their consumption. If their period of unemployment lingers too long and they also lack education, then a small number of these people are also likely to become an undesirable factor affecting social stability and unity.

Third, the level of our people's material living standards is very low; there is an urgent demand for us to reduce our population increase rate and improve the level of the people's material living standards at a greater speed. The objective requirement of the fundamental economic laws of socialism is this: we must use the means of incessant, rapid development of our productive forces in order to satisfy the people's increasing material and cultural demands to the maximum. During the period of our First Five-Year Plan after liberation, because of the steady, rapid development of our production, there was conspicuous improvement in the level of our people's material living standards. During that period, the average wage of a worker increased by 7.4 percent every year. By 1957, the average annual wage of a worker already reached 637 yuan. But, because of the interference of an erroneous line after 1958, great setbacks were encountered in our economic development; it not only failed to grow at a high speed, but once serious retrogression even appeared, and the national economy suffered great losses. After 1962, there was a gradual recovery. But from 1966 on, it further suffered the sabotage of Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their ilk which lasted as long as 10 years, and the national economy almost drifted to the brink of collapse. Until 1978, the annual average wage of our workers under the ownership of all the people remained at 644 yuan, with an increase of only 7 yuan within 21 years. If we consider the fact that there was a general rise in the level of prices during this period, then the actual level of our people's living standards was not only not improved but even reduced. This was the direct result of "reduced production, and huge population increases."



In order to improve our people's level of material living standards at a high speed, the most fundamental way is to develop our productive forces at the highest speed. On the other hand, a rapid decrease in the birth rate of the population is also a very important way of relatively guaranteeing the level of the people's material living standards. On this point, many families have usually had very intimate experiences. Listed in the following table is a comparison of average income variations between individuals from families of different income levels under conditions of different birth rates:

Monthly/person average income Birth rate of each married couple	Income of each family				
	100 yuan	120 yuan	150 yuan	200 yuan	250 yuan
5 children	14.3	17	21.4	27	35.7
4 children	16.7	20	25	33.3	41.7
3 children	20	24	30	40	50
2 children	25	30	37.5	50	62.5
1 child	33.3	40	50	66.7	83.3

Explanation: The calculation of per-person average income of each family is derived from the family's total monthly income divided by the total of family members based on the birth rate of each married couple.

From the above table, we can see that (1) in the case of the family with the monthly income of 100 yuan based on the birth rate of 1 child, its per-person average income exceeds that of the family with the monthly income of 150 yuan based on the birth rate of 3 children; (2) in the case of the family with the monthly income of 120 yuan based on the birth rate of 1 child, its per-person average income is on the other hand equal to that of the family with the monthly income of 200 based on the birth rate of 3 children; and (3) in the case of the family with the monthly income of 150 yuan based on the birth rate of 1 child, its per-person average income is equal to that of the family with the monthly income of 250 yuan based on the birth rate of 3 children. From this, we can see that energetically promoting the practice of giving birth to only one child at present is very effective in relatively guaranteeing the per-person average economic income of each family.

Improving residential conditions is also an important content of the improvement of the residents' material living standards. From 1953 to 1977, the investment of the state in urban housing amounted to more than 3 trillion yuan; although

residential space increased a great deal, because of rapid increase of the urban population (including the population of mechanical increase), the supply of residences was still short. According to 1979 statistics, in the country's more than 190 cities the average per-person residential space was only 3.6 square meters, a reduction of 0.9 square meter from the 4.5 square meters in the early days after liberation. Households lacking residential allocations in cities throughout the country numbered 689,000. In our province the average residential space for each urban resident was 3.8 square meters, which was slightly higher than the national average; but households lacking residential allocations still numbered 248,000, and of these nearly 120,000 were in Guangzhou Municipality alone. The housing problem has already become one of the important problems requiring urgent solution for the urban residents in the country, in our province and in Guangzhou Municipality at present. If we fail to strictly control urban population increase or to promote the practice of giving birth to only one child, then the degree of housing shortage is likely to become further aggravated.

Fourth, at present our educational level is very low; realization of the four modernizations urgently requires us to reduce population increase and rapidly improve the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation. To realize the four modernizations, the modernization of our science is the key. To realize the modernization of our science, rapid development of our educational enterprises is again the central link; we must quickly train a large contingent of scientific and technical personnel and cadres who possess rich scientific knowledge and control adept technology (including production and management technology) and who are also equipped with socialist consciousness. In the past, our scientific and cultural level was very backward; according to 1945 statistics before liberation, of every 10,000 people in the country there were only 1.8 students attending universities and colleges, and there were also only 30.1 students attending middle schools and secondary vocational institutions. After liberation, through the energetic development of our educational enterprises during the First Five-Year Plan period, the above figures increased respectively to 6.5 (university and college students) and 95.7 (middle school and secondary vocational institution students). Thereafter, because of the interference of an erroneous line and especially the serious sabotage during the Cultural Revolution period, our educational and cultural level remained very low, so that there were still 6 percent of children of school age in the country who could not go to school, 12 percent of elementary school graduates who could not advance to junior middle school, more than half of the junior middle school graduates who could not advance to senior middle school, and senior middle school graduates who could advance to university made up only 5 percent of the total, while illiterates and semi-illiterates throughout the country still numbered more than 100 million. In 1979, of every 10,000 people in the country there were only 10.5 students attending universities, 608 students attending middle schools, and 1,510 students attending elementary schools. Compared to the economically developed countries, our gap is very great. Educational conditions of certain developed countries in the world in 1976 can be seen in the following table:

Country	Proportion of school-age children receiving compulsory education	Proportion of elementary school graduates advancing to middle school (percent)	Proportion of middle school graduates advancing to institutions of higher education (percent)	Average No. of university students among every 10,000 population
United States	100	96.5	45.2	445
Britain	--	--	20.3	95
France	--	--	24	202
West Germany	--	--	21.5	134
Japan	100	92.6	39.2	184

Source of data: Based on "Foreign Education," No 2, 1980.

In relation to the realization of the four modernizations, backward educational enterprises constitute a very great contradiction. In order to reverse this situation, we must increase educational investment; but our foundation is very thin, the funds from our national income applied to the development of educational enterprises are very limited. In the past, our population increase was very rapid; this caused even less educational funds to be allocated to each student. In the immediate period ahead, if we can promote the practice of giving birth to only one child, then the number of school-age children will decrease considerably. Recorded in the following table are forecasts of trends of development of children reaching school age in our province from 1987 to 2000:

Number of Forecasting Scheme	Average birth rate for each married couple	Forecast annual average number of children entering elementary school (unit: 10,000)		
		1987-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
1	3 children	138.3	159	181.8
2	2.3 children	113.5	125.4	145.2
3	2 children	102.5	110.6	129.4
4	1.5 children	78	83.6	98.8
5	1 child	55	56.4	68

From the above table, we can see that if we can from now on reduce the birth rate for each married couple from three children to one child in our province, then the number of school-age children entering elementary schools during various periods will decrease considerably. From 1987 to 1990, the annual average will decrease from 1.383 million to 550,000, i.e., with a reduction of 833,000; from 1991 to 1995, the decrease will be from 1.59 million to 564,000, i.e., with a reduction of 1.026 million in the annual average; and from 1996 to 2000, the decrease will be from the annual average of 1.818 million to 680,000 i.e., with a reduction of 1.138 million in the annual average. Calculated on the basis of each elementary school pupil being allocated 20 yuan of educational expenses each year, the allocations from 1987 to 2000 taken together will save 264.54 million yuan of educational expenses in our province. With this sum of money used on improving elementary school equipment and establishing more secondary vocational institutions and universities and colleges, it will speed up the development of educational enterprises in our province. This shows that the promotion of the practice of giving birth to only one child is beneficial to the acceleration of the development of our scientific and educational enterprises.

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